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THE GESTS OF KING ALEXANDER
OF MACEDON

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The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon

Two Middle-English Alliterative Fragments

Alexander A and *Alexander B*

EDITED WITH THE LATIN SOURCES PARALLEL (OROSIUS
AND THE *HISTORIA DE PRELIIS*, J²-RECENSION), WITH
INTRODUCTION, NOTES, APPENDICES, AND INDEX

BY

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TO
MY MOTHER AND FATHER

PREFACE

THE present edition of two Middle-English alliterative romances, *Alexander A* and *Alexander B*, has gradually grown out of a source-study of the legendary portions of these fragments, submitted in 1923 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in English Philology at Harvard University. The original study has been elaborated little by little at odd moments in the past four years; the writer suddenly finds that a fitfully pursued hobby has become a book of sorts.

The poems edited are, as it happens, of trifling literary merit; their authors were versifiers not poets, and an historically-minded editor need not for a moment concern himself with aesthetic appraisals. Yet these third-rate productions of an age which can claim Geoffrey Chaucer and the unknown poet of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* should not be altogether devoid of interest to the student of the language and literature of fourteenth-century England. They are representatives of the important so-called 'Alliterative School'; they offer specimens of the West-Midland dialect; and they derive a vicarious significance from their affiliations with the ubiquitous legendary histories of the great Emathian conqueror.

Besides offering texts afresh, with some apparatus helpful for their interpretation, in the Introduction the editor has tried to assemble materials useful in various ways for an understanding of the pieces. Certain inherent difficulties concerning the origin and the transmission of the texts have led to a minute examination of the sources and language. In both cases there are questions for which the editor has found no answer; he

hopes that publication may recall the attention of students to these poems and encourage the publishing of corrective and additional notes upon the topics here surveyed.

The presence of a somewhat full bibliographical-genealogical outline of the Pseudo-Callisthenes tradition of the Alexander Legend, set forth as a prelude to the study of the sources of the English fragments, perhaps requires a word of explanation. Despite the fact that there are a number of students of this intricate subject who are infinitely more competent than the present writer — especially Professor Friedrich Pfister, whose projected *Alexander der Grosse in der Weltliteratur* will no doubt be definitive — none have yet presented in systematic form and with adequate bibliographical indications an outline of the growth and spread of the legend as this is understood to-day. While I have in no sense tried to write a history of the Alexander Legend, I have tried to bring together within a few pages and make accessible — especially for the beginner — the best and most recent scholarship of its more important aspects. Although I cannot hope altogether to have avoided errors of statement and misinterpretation of the opinions of others, the bibliographies for each document or group of documents classified will give the reader ready access to the ultimate sources and authorities. In regard to the bibliographical indications given, considerations of space preclude the citing of titles where these are to be found in the special bibliographical notes of others. Yet I trust that such references as are given will permit the student to find his way directly or indirectly to everything of importance on the subject in hand. In this same connection I may note that I have not hesitated to repeat under different headings significant references and sources of information. With few exceptions (see pp. 117, 118 below) titles are cited amply. Slavic titles are regularly cited in the native alphabets; for Russian the new orthography has been employed.

Since the *New English Dictionary* specifically cites and in most cases explains virtually all difficult and many obvious words in *Alexander A* and *Alexander B*, a glossary to these lexically rather easy texts would seem at least as superfluous as a vocabulary to a Latin text intended for University students. In the 'Notes' I have, however, interpreted a few unusual words and phrases and in rather more have admitted my inability; furthermore, the etymologies incidental to the discussion of dialect serve to gloss a considerable number of words otherwise undeserving of special notice. On the whole, I do not imagine that the lack of a glossary will be seriously felt by such readers as are likely to be interested in the texts in hand.

In the general plan and execution of these studies I have, perhaps unwisely, sought little help — one hesitates to impose a hobby upon one's friends. But in a number of details interesting and important to myself I am happy to acknowledge gracious response to inquiries and many welcome hints. On several details of the history of the Alexander Legend I have corresponded with my friend, Professor George Livingstone Hamilton of Cornell University, who has, among other favors, communicated to me items from his own bibliographical collectanea. Dr Boris I. Jarcho of Moscow obligingly examined Lenin Library *MS. 2405*; Dr Julius Clausen, Librarian of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, supplied me with useful information about Peder Pedersen Galthen; and Professor William Scott Ferguson of Harvard University kindly helped me to interpret the Orosian account of Philip of Macedon. Thanks to the extraordinary kindness of Dr Eugen Enyvvári, Director of the Municipal Library at Budapest, I have been able to give an adequate bibliography for the work of Baron John Haller of Hallerkő. I am greatly in debt to Professor Harry Austryn Wolfson of Harvard University for translating and for supervising the printing of the text of several passages of a mediaeval Hebrew text.

The officials of the Bodleian Library (Oxford), of Corpus Christi College (Cambridge), of Gonville and Caius College (Cambridge), and of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich) have been generous in permitting the rotographing of their MSS. To Dr Paul Ruf of the last-mentioned library I am grateful for the titles of several works which shed light upon the history of *Codex Monacensis Latinus 824*. Words cannot express my obligations to the Harvard College Library on whose shelves are to be found practically every modern book and pamphlet and many early printed books cited in the following pages, as well as former *Codex Seitenstettensis XXXI*, now Harvard College Library *MS. Latin 121*. The Harvard University Press has ungrudgingly met all requirements for special type.

I reserve for the last a most difficult task — the expression of my peculiar indebtedness to a scholar to whom my many and deep obligations have long since accumulated beyond any possibility of repayment, Professor George Lyman Kittredge, teacher, critic, counsellor, and friend.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

June, 1928.

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THE GESTS OF KING ALEXANDER
OF MACEDON

INTRODUCTION

I. THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS

THE Middle-English alliterative fragments, *Alexander A* and *Alexander B*,¹ are preserved in unique MSS of the Bodleian Library, Oxford: *Al.A* in *MS. Greaves 60*, *Al.B* in *MS. Bodley 264*.

MS. Greaves 60, a somewhat dog-eared and rather shabby paper MS., 148 mm. × 207 mm. (5¹³-16" × 8¹-4"), appears to have been originally intended for use as a school note-book. The script is a late Elizabethan sloped Secretary hand, and the MS. may, accordingly, be dated *ca.* 1600.² On fol. 11 are some miscellaneous notes, partly crossed out:

IOVA

Ye schoole of Rhetorik,

or

Ye skyll too speake well:
deuised & made by H. G.

Vergilianarum orationum,
quæ in Æneide leguntur,
& compendium & aliis uerbis
facta fusior interpretatio.

Radulphus de Sto Albano
eiusdem fani Albani
monachus et Abbas ex pompeio
Trogo, Origine, Josepho
Isodoro Beda et alijs

¹ So designated by W. W. Skeat, *William of Palerne and a Fragment of the Alliterative Romance of Alisaunder*, E.E.T.S. Ex. Ser. No. I, 1867, p. xxx, and by J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (New Haven, 1916) pp. 102-105 and pp. 778, 779. Referred to hereafter by the abbreviations *Al. A* and *Al. B*.

² See H. Jenkinson, 'Elizabethan Handwritings: a Preliminary Sketch,' *The Library*, 4th Ser., III (1923), 1-34 and Pls. X, XIa; also Pl. I, p. 162 below.

hanc historiam de Rebus gestis
 Alexandri Macedonis edidit
 obiit anno domini MCLI in eodem
 cœnobio sepultus sub stephano
 Anglorum rege. Balæus.

Scattered through the twenty-five folios which make up the MS. are various Latin notes. The upper half of fol. 6v and all but the last three lines of fol. 7r contain abstracts of Terence's *Andria*,¹ while from fol. 9r to the top of fol. 11r the MS. is taken up with two exercises (based on Virgil's *Aeneid* i, 38-80) with the titles '*Iunonis oratio in deliberatione posita*' and '*Iunonis ad Æolum oratio petitoria*.' Fol. 20v and 25r are blank. Vv. 1-773 of the English poem, under the title '*þe Gestes of þe Worþie King and Emperour, Alisaunder of Macedoine*,' run continuously from fol. 1v through fol. 16r, written in wherever there is no Latin. On fol. 16v is a copy of vv. 1-5, 15-23, and 27-43 differing from that on fol. 1v-2r in certain orthographic details and in a few readings of the text.² The scribe would seem to have copied these verses in first, and then become sufficiently interested in his work to begin afresh and give us a fuller excerpt. Fol. 17r to fol. 20r contain vv. 1035-1247. With v. 1247 the fragment ends. Fol. 20v is blank and vv. 774-1034 fill the MS. from fol. 21r to fol. 24v. Even after making the necessary transposition there is still a considerable break in the narrative after v. 1034. There are 4 blank leaves at the beginning (not counted in the present foliation), and the whole is enclosed in a gathering of 2 sheets evidently added at a later date to protect the MS.

The ink with which the English poem is written, and with

¹ The first is a somewhat careless transcript of the *periœcha* to the *Andria* by C. Sulpitius Apollinaris; the second is a paraphrase of the first. The paraphrases on the *Aeneid* mentioned below seem to have nothing to do with Apollinaris' metrical arguments to the twelve books of that work, but are rather exercises in Latin composition.

² These verses are designated by a following *a*; they are printed in Appendix I.

which the inscription and notes on fol. 11r has been crossed out, is of a yellowish tinge; the inscription and the Latin notes scattered through the MS. are in a blacker, better ink. Vv. 287-773 (fol. 7v-16r) are in the same but smaller hand than the preceding; for vv. 1035-1247 (fol. 17r-20v) the hand is generally speaking more careless and a line is regularly drawn down the left-hand margin of the verse; vv. 774-1034 (fol. 21r-24r) are written in almost exactly the same manner as vv. 1-286 (fol. 1v-7r) and vv. 1a-43a (fol. 16v).

The indefinite article is regularly marked with a grave accent, 'à', and the following words are furnished with a circumflex: *alie*, 218; *bâren*, 435; *bitôkneth*, 857; *châse*, 36, 36a; *died*, 421; *dÿe*, 375; *dÿed*, 1013; *fârde*, 659; *fône*, 83, 271, 332, 346, 387, 866, 995, 1219; *gie*, 287; *gÿe*, 328; *gôse*, 409, 580; *gôthe*, 708; *hêds*, 270; *hÿe*, 467, 565; *klênist*, 120; *kries*, 662; *lÿeth*, 721; *mêne*, 867; *nied*, 817; *nÿe*, 764; *nÿed*, 505; *nêre*, 110, 874, 1178; *princes*, 976; *rêdeless*, 394; *sôule*, 41; *sôle*, 41a; *stêrne*, 10; *Têbes*, 329, 410; *tÿtely*, 7; *ytrÿed*, 1231.

To be especially noted as having possible bearing upon the date of the original is the scribe's method of expressing the interdental spirant. Almost equally common is the Latin style with two letters 'th' and the regular post-Conquest development of *þ* into a *y*-shaped symbol with the long stroke on the left instead of on the right. But besides these two symbols is a third, identical in form with that used by the scribe for *d*, which seems to represent a late survival of *ð*; for the corresponding capital, *D* or *Ð* is employed.¹

¹ For possible inferences to be drawn from this orthographic feature, see pp. 100, 101 below (Date of Composition). The occurrences of this are in vv. 5, 33, 41, etc., and in the catchwords to vv. 24, 44, 60, 67, 256, 397, 511, 517, 546, 669, 837, 880, 866. Generally speaking the symbol *ð* had passed out of use by the fourteenth century; see Skeat, Introduction to ed. of *Al. A.*, pp. xxxii-iii and *Twelve Facsimiles of Old English* [= OE. and ME.] *Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1892), p. 7; J. Wright, *Element. Middle Engl. Gramm.* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1923), §20, p. 10; R. Jordan, *Handb. d. Mittelengl. Gramm.* (Winter: Heidelberg, 1925), §203, pp. 181-182; K. Luick, *Histor. Gramm. d. Engl. Spr.*, §56, p. 80.

On fol. 17r-18v (vv. 1035-1146) the form of the first personal pronoun changes from a Roman majuscular *I* with a short cross-bar through the middle to a cursive *I* whose form is scarcely distinguishable from a round bracket ')'.¹ In one instance ambiguity results.²

The scribe evinces considerable interest in the vocabulary and spelling of his original; this he displays in two ways: first, he underlined no less than seventy-five whole words or certain letters of the same:

alosed, 577, 1223; *aie*, 1241 as a gloss to *awe*; *bale*, 1168; *bed*, 457 (see note); *bern*, 219 and *beurnes*, 2a; *beurde*, 202; *coflich*, 207; *cofly*, 1127; *chees*, 321; *deide*, 1013 with *dÿed* written after it; *deie*, 375 as a gloss to *dÿe*; *Dou*, 78 *ou* underlined; *fin*, 128; *finlich*, 1199; *fale*, 167; *fele*, 273; *feole*, 12 as a gloss to *fell*; *fonde*, 107, 1054, 1199; *foundes*, 121 (cf. *fynde* with *o* above *y*, 246); *frotus*, 1172; *gamus*, 292 (see note); *ÿeeme*, 43a; *gist*, 294 (see note); *gome*, 221, 252; *graitthes*, 409; *grathly*, 1194; *grembe*, 221; *hende*, 1225; *hendely*, 187, 248; *hym*, 88; *hote*, 1100; *inkest*, 1061 (see note); *kipe*, 286 (cf. misreadings *kipes* with *i* glossed *ee* and *keepes* with *ee* glossed *i*, for *kipes*, v. 162, fn.); *lengen*, 1a; *lime*, 1120; *laught*, 131, 250; *lanht*, 161 with *a* glossed *i*; *menskful*, 555; *menskliche*, 173; *prened*, 420; *priken*, 343 with *i* glossed *e*; *pris*, 306, 1216, 1234; *purlich*, 1038; *queme*, 1179; *renk*, 57; *res*, 389; *rigge*, 1172; *(to-)rihtus*, 1220; *rink*, 105, 480, 1232; *-rist*, 855 with *i* glossed *e*; *rode*, 178; *segges*, 286; *see*, 135 glossed *swee*; *sounk*, 1092; *spedly*, 296; *spend*, 362 with *nen* above the *d* and underlined; *stelger*, 416; *stighilich*, 293; *swich*, 773, 874 with *wi* underlined and glossed *u*; *swipe*, 106; *trie*, 16a; *pem*, 122 (see note); *bristliche*, 191; *broeliche*, 215; *ungome*, 294; *walte*, 450; *warden*, 265 with *en* underlined; *weihs*, 1225 as gloss to *wights*; *werned*, 208; *wows*, 1121; *wretched*, 1084 with *ed* underlined; *wus*, 712.

¹ Instances are in vv. 1036, 1042, 1052, 1064, 1065, 1068, 1069, 1071, 1093, 1146; in vv. 1108 we find $\ddot{\text{I}}$.

² V. 1054 (see note, p. 230 below).

Even a cursory examination of the above list shows that most words or spellings emphasized in this way by the scribe were obsolete, obsolescent, or dialectal by the time of Elizabeth and James.

A second group of words — and the group which is at once more important and in some ways more difficult to deal with — are those which are glossed in some fashion, either by a different word or by a different spelling of the same word. These also are numerous (above 100):¹ in some instances the gloss is clearly the form in the archetype: e. g., *aie*, the gloss to *awe*, 1241; *feole*, the gloss to *fell*, 12; [*spe*]nen, the gloss to *spenden* 362; *ton*, the gloss to *toze*, 194. In other instances the gloss equally clearly represents the scribe's interpretation or modernization of what was before him: e. g., *thence*, the gloss to *ðennes*, 67; *greately*, the gloss to *graihtlich*, 858. In a few cases the chronological priority of gloss over main word (and vice versa) may be open to question; but whatever interpretation be put upon the individual instance,² this phenomenon testifies to a philological interest in a Middle-English literary text unusual in the late sixteenth century.³

¹ It is scarcely possible to give an exact figure since in several instances it is difficult to know whether what might be regarded as a gloss, is a gloss or merely a correction (as *dealed*, 143; *faire* 1185; and *fleshlych*, 38; *weren*, 414). See footnotes to these lines and references in footnote 2 immediately below.

² In editing, each case is dealt with on its merits and here it will suffice to note the lines in which instances occur; the lines in question are:

2a	3a	6	12	12a	13a	22	27	38	49
56	67	78	84	114	124	126	135	136	143
161	173	174	194	204	208	234	240	243	246
255	263	268	277	288	294	299	305	306	308
310	313	318	320	326	329	337	343	347	359
362	364	370	375	414	442	457	466	468	472
476	481	489	503	507	516	520	521	529	531
538	539	563	612	637	647	669	671	677	682
703	726	756	767	772	773	779	795	800	828
837	855	858	874	878	880	885	891	895	904
911	931	994	1009	1011	1013	1022	1024	1041	1054
1130	1154	1176	1177	1184	1186	1191	1195	1203	1215
1221	1225	1234	1241						

³ In Old-English studies certainly, Francis Junius 'gave the world its first

In copying, the scribe has dealt quite freely with the text and is, furthermore, guilty of a considerable degree of carelessness; for he has clearly omitted verses ¹ and was unwilling to see his pensum through to the end.² One is left with the impression of a copyist interested, yet rendered impatient by the length of his self-imposed task and by the linguistic difficulty of the text.

Most of the features of the MS. here discussed are illustrated in Plate I (facing p. 162 below).

Al. B has been preserved in a far more pretentious form than *Al. A*. The following description of the MS., *Bodley 264*, in which the English poem is found, is based in part on an account given in a recent catalogue of the Bodleian Library.³

MS. Bodley 264, in French and English and written on parchment, is made up of two codices — A and B — of the 14th and 15th centuries respectively. The complete volume is of x + 274 leaves, 17 1-8" × 12 1-2", in double columns:

Cod. A. fol. 3-208: 'Li romans du boin roi Alexandre. Et les veus du Pauon. les accomplissemens. le Restor du Pauon. et les pris. qui fu perescript le .xviiiie. ior de Decembre. lan. m.ccc.xxxviiij.' This is a text of the OFr. *Roman d'Alisandre* with certain continuations as described below (pp. 26 ff.) and is adorned with many illuminations in the text and in the margins.⁴

purely literary interest in Old English by the publication of Cædmon, 1655,' Eleanor N. Adams, *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800* (Yale Studies in English LV, New Haven, 1917), p. 70.

¹ See notes to vv. 1a-43a, 155, 522, 552, 657, 837, 1034, 1043, 1044, 1074 ff., 1097, 1101, 1127, 1129.

² See v. 1247 and note.

³ *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library. Seventeenth Century*. Vol. II, part i, ed. F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, Oxford, 1922. The account of *MS. 2464* (= *MS. Bodley 264*) is given on p. 381.

⁴ Can this be identified with the illuminated MS., noticed by J. M. Manly, 'The Romance of Alexander,' [London] *Times Literary Supplement*, September 22, 1927, p. 647? See Bodleian catalogue *cit. supra* for attempt to identify MS. with one owned by Thomas Plantagenet Duke of Gloucester († 1397).

Cod. B. (1) fol. 209-217. *Al. B.* copied into MS. in the 15th century in a square formal hand, and illustrated with nine rather crude fifteenth-century illustrations. The subjects of these illuminations may be described as follows:¹

I. fol. 209v, col. 2 (top). Alexander stands in front of his tents. At his feet is a river, the Pison, in which swims an eel-like creature (Skeat, *ed. cit.*, p. xix, suggests it is the 'hound-fish' of v. 164). On the further bank are two red wiverns ('*dragonus*,' v. 156). A naked man, on whose skin is painted a leaf-pattern in pale green, is rowing across the stream; behind him stand two naked men (cf. vv. 165-169). At the foot of the preceding column in the manuscript (after v. 136) is the rubric '*How Alixandre remewid to a flod þat is called Phison.*'

II. fol. 210r, col. 2 (bottom). Alexander, seated in a chair before a tent, receives a letter (cf. vv. 248, 249) from a bearded man kneeling before him. The man is clad in a tight-fitting garment of leaves; around his waist is a belt with a small white appendage at his hip, on which a red cross is painted. Immediately above the illumination (after v. 248) is the rubric '*How King Dindimus sent lettrus to King Alixandre.*'

III. fol. 211r, col. 1 (middle). Two naked men with skin painted with leaf-pattern as in I: one is Dindimus, crowned and seated at the mouth of a cave, writing; the other, leaning halfway out of another cave, is presumably a waiting messenger. Immediately above the illumination (after v. 254) is the rubric '*How Dindimus enditid to Alixandre of here levyng.*'

IV. fol. 212r, col. 2 (middle). Alexander stands in front of a tent; before him in a row, one behind the other, stand four naked men of whom the foremost, crowned, is Dindimus, who is gesticulating in heated discourse. Immediately above the

¹ In preparing the following descriptions I am deeply obliged to Mr R. S. Loomis, who kindly placed at my disposal his unpublished notes on the subject. Without the welcome help of Mr Loomis' trained eye I should have overlooked several interesting details, especially the leaf-garments which so puzzled Skeat.

illumination (after v. 567) is the rubric '*How he spareþ not Alixandre to telle him of his governance.*'

V. fol. 213r, col. 1 (top). In the centre is an idol on a pedestal, a nude boy with legs half-crossed, arms akimbo, and hands pointing toward the stomach. Skeat (*ed. cit.*, p. xx) observes that this figure represents Cupid (cf. v. 686). On the right stands Alexander; on the left Dindimus, naked but crowned, pointing at Alexander with a reproving finger. Immediately above the illumination (after v. 680) is the rubric '*How he telleþ Alixandre of his maumentrie.*'

VI. fol. 213v, col. 2 (bottom). Dindimus, naked and crowned, is receiving a letter from Alexander's messenger, dressed in late mediaeval court costume and standing hat in hand. Immediately above the illumination (after v. 821) is the rubric '*How Alixandre sente answeere to Dindimus by letter.*'

VII. fol. 214v, col. 1 (top). Alexander, seated on a bench before a tent, receives a letter from a kneeling Gymnosophist with painted body. Immediately above the illumination (after v. 972) is the rubric '*How Dindimus sendyd an answeere to Alixandre by letter.*'

VIII. fol. 215r, col. 2 (bottom). Alexander's messenger in court costume, kneeling, offers a letter to Dindimus, behind whom are visible the heads of three men; a fourth is emerging from the mouth of a cave. The bodies of Dindimus and his men are, as above, covered with a garment of leaves. Immediately above the illumination (after v. 1077) is the rubric '*How Alixandre sente Dindimus anopur letter.*' For this illumination, see Plate II, facing p. 214 below.

IX. fol. 215v, col. 2 (middle). Alexander stands in front of a large gray pillar, on whose sides his hands rest. Immediately above the illumination (after v. 1139, the last verse) is the rubric '*How Alixandre picht a pelyr of marbyl here.*' Below the illumination is written in a sixteenth-century Court hand

'Thomas (?) Smythe'¹ and a few other illegible words; the rest of the column, though ruled for writing, is blank.

The illuminations are set in simple frames with sprays of flowers springing from the corners and from the middle of vertical sides.

At the top of the first column of fol. 209r, immediately preceding v. 1 of the English poem, is the rubric '*How Alexandre partyd pennys*' without an accompanying illumination. Nevertheless it would seem that an illumination was intended at this point; for the rubrics do not appear to constitute a part of the original text, being regularly associated elsewhere with illuminations, nor are they usually especially appropriate or sufficiently comprehensive as section heads for the following text. Indeed the rubric to V above is inserted in the middle of a sentence (after v. 680), while in illuminations V and VI the illuminator has depicted Dindimus and Alexander communicating directly by word of mouth instead of by letter as the text directs. The language of the rubrics approaches what has seemed to me to be that of the fifteenth-century scribe (see pp. 94, 95 below).

(2) fol. 218-274: *Li liures du graunt Caam*, by Marco Polo, in French prose, concludes Codex B.

The presence of *Al. B* in *MS. Bodley 264* is explained by the matter on fol. 67r. In the left-hand column of this folio is the following:

Quant li viellart oient du roi le serement,
Li ainsnes a parle tout premierement:
'Sire rois Alixandre, .i. petit nous entent!
Nous somes .iiii. frere, nes somes d'Orient;
Par les desers alons ainsi privement
Et fumes cha arrieres a une feste grant —
Et de plusors contrees i furent li enfant —

¹ Noted as a one-time owner of the MS. in Bodleian catalogue, p. 382, *cit. supra*, p. 8. n. 3.

Uns astronomiens nous dist vraiment
 Qu'en iceste contree fontaines i a cent.
 Les .iii. sont si faees — j'es sai a escient —
 Hom qui .vii. vins ans — a ce sai certainement —
 Se en l'eve se baigne et en l'eve descent,
 En l'aé de .xxx. ans revient hastivement.
 Sire rois Alixandre, se vous vient a plesir,
 La seconde fontaine deües tres bien oir:
 Li dieu la firent sordre et de terre saillir;
 Qui en cele se baigne, il ne puet puis morir,
 Ne la puet l'en en l'an que une fois choisir.
 Bon conseil te donrai se le vues consentir,
 Por ce que de noient ne te volons mentir:
 Ta meisnie feras en pluseurs sens partir
 S'aucuns por aventure i porroit avenir.
 'He, diex!' dist Alixandres, 's'el voles consentir,
 Que baignier m'i puisse, que tant riens ne desir,
 Sacrefice feroie tout a vostre plaisir.'
 'Roys, la tierce fontaine refait molt a loer:
 Qui voit mort son ami ne fait mie a douter,
 S'il le puet a cele eve conduire et amener,
 Et entor la fontaine .iiii. jors sejourner,
 Et .i. petit de l'eve dedens le cors geter,
 Au quint jor le fera de mort resusciter.'
 Quant Alixandres l'oi, si commence a parler:
 'Se tu ices noveles me fais en voir ester,
 Je te ferai d'or cuit .iiii. chevaus trosser.'
 Li viellart lieve sus, si li vuet affier.¹

Comment les gens Alixandre frunt noies por l'emoure des femmes demorant en le lew.

The rubric which ends this column is in a different hand from the French verse, but identical with the hand of the following English prose, which occupies the first eight lines of the right-hand column of the same folio:

Here fayleth a prossesse of þis rommance of Alixandre, þe wech prossesse þat fayleth 3e schulle fynde at þe ende of þis bok ywrete

¹ This text differs slightly from H. Michelant, *Li Romans d'Alixandre*, pp. 332, l. 23-333, l. 23.

in Engelyche ryme; and whanne 3e han radde it to þe ende, turneþ hedur azen and turneþ ovyr þis lef and bygynneþ at þis reson, '*Che fu el mois de May que li tans renovele*'; and so rede forþ þe rom-mance to þe ende whylis þe Frenche lasteþ.

The remainder of the column is blank, and fol. 67v is taken up with a full-page illumination.¹ Fol. 68, col. 1, begins, as stated in the English above, with the line:

Che fu el mois de May que li tans renovele.²

The writer of the English note, who is also the scribe of *Al. B* to which he refers,³ is in a sense mistaken in saying that an episode ('*prossesse*') is missing ('*fayleth*') in the French poem, insomuch as this episode, or series of episodes, does not appear anywhere in the *Roman*, based mainly on Julius Valerius.⁴ Furthermore, as Skeat pointed out,⁵ the English scribe has chosen a particularly inappropriate place for his interpolation.⁶ It is obvious, however, that the English scribe appended *Al. B* to the MS. because he wished to direct the attention of the reader to the translation of the *Collatio* or correspondence between Alexander and Dindimus as known to him in English but not included in the *Romans*.⁷

Of paleographic interest is the somewhat uncommon use made of the nota *g*, usually the sign of abbreviation for *-us*. Now besides its value as *-us*, *g* is also employed in Mediaeval-

¹ I quote the following paragraph from a letter received from the Oxford University Press: 'With reference to *MS. Bodley 264*, the verso of fol. 67 is not blank, but contains a full-page picture.' This note serves to correct Skeat, *Alexander and Dindimus*, E.E.T.S. Ex. Ser. XXXI, 1878, who writes (p. viii) 'The verso of fol. 67 is also blank.'

² According to Skeat, *Al. B*, p. viii.

³ The handwriting is in both cases identical.

⁴ Cf. p. 26 ff. below.

⁵ *Al. B*, ed. cit., p. ix, Sec. 5.

⁶ The vacant half-column in which the scribe has inserted his note comes in the midst of the episode of the 'Fountain of Youth' (Michelant's edition, pp. 331-335). See Meyer, II, 174 ff. (Sec. 14).

⁷ On the *Collatio* see pp. 46 ff. below.

Latin MSS for -s,¹ and in *Al. B* there appear to be a number of examples of this rarer use: *chariteug* (894), *dedeg* (595), *foliug* (806), *godog* (772), *holdeg* (576), *kingug* (82, 90, 107), *seggeg* (478), *skiuug* (478, 576), *spraiug* (729), *storiug* (467), *weihuug* (698, 922, 1092) are surely for *chariteus*, *dedes*, *folius*, *godos*, *holdes*, *kingus*, *skius*, *spraius*, *weihus*, not *chariteuus*, *dedeus*, *foliuus*, *godous*, etc. as Skeat prints them. On the other hand are to be noted *dedeus* (652), *pinguus* (222), and *pouhtous* (767) with -eus, -uus, -ous written out in full, and, although these endings are pretty certainly spurious, one seeks some explanation for them. I suggest that the scribe of the archetype of *Al. B* understood and used *g* for -s as well as for -us, that this use of the nota was unfamiliar to the scribe of *MS. Bodl. 264*, who in most instances copied it slavishly but in the cases of *dedeus*, *pinguus*, and *pouhtous* resolved it into -us. One would like more information on this use of the abbreviation *g* in vernacular MSS.

2. PREVIOUS EDITIONS

Al. A was edited by W. W. Skeat in 1867 with an introduction, notes, and glossary;² it has not been edited elsewhere. *Al. B* was first edited by Joseph Stevenson in 1849,³ and again in 1878 by Skeat with introduction, notes, and vocabulary.⁴ Stevenson's edition was shown by Skeat (*ed. cit.*, p. xxi-xxv) to be thoroughly unreliable and of no scientific value. On the other hand, Skeat's editions of both *Al. A* and *Al. B* offer

¹ On this two-fold use of *g* in Mediaeval Latin MSS, see L. Delisle, 'De l'Emploi du Signe Abréviatif *g* à la Fin des Mots,' *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes* LXVII (1906), 591, 592, and W. A. Oldfather, *Speculum* I (1926), 443, 444.

² *Ed. cit.* p. 3, note 1, above.

³ J. Stevenson, *The Alliterative Romance of Alexander* (Roxburghe Club, London, 1849), pp. 197-236. Vv. 1-52 were printed in T. Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poetry* II, 603 ff., London 1840 — very badly edited; later editions of Warton show a few corrections.

⁴ Skeat, *Alexander and Dindimus*, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. XXXI, 1878.

faithful reproductions of the MSS,¹ although his discussion of sources and dialect, with his notes and emendations in general, is in the nature of things out of date.

3. THE SOURCES

GENERAL

The total mass of extant documents devoted in whole or in part to the life and deeds of Alexander of Macedon is so great in volume and so diverse in substance as to prove a veritable source of amazement, not to say bewilderment, to the reader who would pursue their history. But the tireless activities of a generation of scholars of history and of letters, the generous coöperation of orientalists, occidentalists, and specialists in the period of Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages has gone far towards reducing a chaotic *mêlée* to a very considerable degree of order and has made possible a certain amount of classification. These materials may be conveniently arranged in six general groups:² (1) historians such as Arrian and his fragmentarily preserved predecessors, Ptolemy and Aristobulus; (2) Callisthenes, Cleitarchus, Diodorus the Sicilian, Pompeius Trogus, his epitomizer Justin, Paulus Orosius, Quintus Curtius Rufus,³ and St Jerome; these may be regarded as writers of historical novels, that is, making literary use of historical material; (3) the romantic, in part folkloristic, Greek novel of the so-called Pseudo-Callisthenes and interpolated redactions and translations of the same into other languages, eastern and western; also popular traditions richly represented in Greek, Slavic, and oriental *volksbücher*, chronicles, and even in living popular

¹ See pp. 113, 114 below.

² Here I am indebted to a similar outline published by Fr. Pfister, *Wochensch. f. Klass. Philol.* XXVIII (1911), esp. col. 1154-1157.

³ For the prominent group of Alexander biographies in prose and verse, which ultimately depend upon Curtius Rufus, see p. 22, n. 1, below.

tradition;¹ (4) documents in various ways associated with the Pseudo-Callisthenes, such as the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotilem*, the *Commonitorium Paladii*, the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*, the *Iter ad Paradisum*, and the *Secretum Secretorum*; (5) items and anecdotes in Pliny the Elder, Valerius Maximus, Solinus, and St Isidore of Seville, in works of the *liber monstro-rum* type, in the Pseudo-Epiphanius, Pseudo-Methodius, and the like; and finally, (6) large or small excerpts from any of the above as incorporated in oriental and occidental chronicles, so-called history-bibles, and exempla.² Cross-currents abound and frequent conflation of sources confronts the reader on every hand; yet careful study will one day probably yield a full understanding of this vast complex of history, pseudo-history, and saga.³

In the present instance the task is relatively simple; for, as we shall see, *Al. A* is based in part on Orosius (group 2, above), in part on one of the direct lines of descent of the romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes (group 3, above). *Al. B* belongs to the

¹ Strikingly represented in the modern Turkestan *König Alexander mit dem Horn*, published by G. Jungbauer, *Märchen aus Turkestan und Tibet* (in the series 'Die Märchen der Weltliteratur,' ed. Fr. von der Leyen and P. Zaubert), Jena: Diederichs, 1923, pp. 196-198; see especially notes, pp. 315, 316. I am obliged to Dr Ernest J. Simmons for this reference.

² Well illustrated in J. Th. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la Littérature Religieuse et Didactique du Moyen Age* (Paris: Occitania, 1927), Index under 'Alexandre le Grand'; *ibid.*, *La Tabula Exemplorum secundum Ordinem Alphabeti: Recueil d'Exempla compilé en France à la Fin du XIII^e Siècle* (Paris: Occitania, 1926), Index.

³ For a useful though not complete bibliography of 'Alexanderliteratur' with over 400 titles arranged alphabetically by (modern) author, see H. E. Müller, *Die Werke des Pfaffen Lamprecht . . .* (Münchener Texte, Heft 12, Munich: Callwey, 1923), pp. x-xxvi. Note interesting table of works by language, *idem*, pp. xxvii-viii. Practically all literary historians give a bibliography of sorts of the Alexander legend, but, generally speaking, these are exceedingly miscellaneous. A bibliography of the entire subject would be of incalculable service to students, but would probably fill a volume and require months of labor to collect and much study to arrange in a useful fashion. In the notes to the brief outline of the Pseudo-Callisthenes tradition (pp. 22-62 below) I have attempted to direct the reader to the fullest bibliographies of the items mentioned.

same Ps.-Call. tradition as *Al. A*, a tradition which had, *inter alia*, taken in the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* mentioned above in group 4.

Al. A opens with a brief apostrophe to the courtly reader (vv. 1-11), upon which follows directly an account of Amyntas, father of Philip, of his wife Eurydice, and of the accession to the Macedonian throne of Philip II, father of the hero of the poem. This historical introduction ends with the story of Philip's marriage with Olympias, sister of Aruba, king of Molossis, and of his wars against the Greek states (vv. 12-451). In Philip's absence Nectanabus, self-exiled king of Egypt, arrives in Macedonia and begets on Olympias Alexander the Great (vv. 452-876). The story of Philip's wars is continued (vv. 900-955). Philip returns home and learns of the circumstances of Alexander's conception; certain marvels preceding the hero's birth follow (vv. 956-1034) — owing to a lacuna in the text, there is no account of his birth and infancy.¹ The young Alexander slays his real father and tutor, Nectanabus, and tames a horse [Bucephalus] (vv. 1035-1199). The fragment breaks off in the midst of an account of Philip's siege of Constantinople (vv. 1202-1247).

In *Al. B* the life of the hero is resumed, but only at a period long after the events described in *Al. A*. Alexander has now reached the pinnacle of his career and is in India. His visit to the Gymnosophists (vv. 1-110) is followed by a story of certain magical trees (vv. 111-136). He next marches to the land of the Brahmins (vv. 137-190) where he carries on an epistolary correspondence with Dindimus, the Brahmin king. In all, five letters are exchanged, three from Alexander to Dindimus and two from Dindimus to Alexander (vv. 191-1127). The fragment breaks off with an account of a pillar set up by Alexander upon his departure from the Brahmin frontier (vv. 1128-1139).

¹ See pp. 4, 8 above and note to v. 1034.

THE HISTORICAL SOURCE OF *Alexander A*

The historical passages of *Al. A* are three in number and include vv. 12-451, 900-955, and 1202-47, already briefly analysed.

(1) *Historical Interpolation No. 1*

The first historical passage tells of the ancestry of Philip, his accession to the throne, his marriage, and his wars. Now there are at least three historical accounts of Philip's life, current in the mediaeval England, which contain the essential facts given in the poem: Justin's epitome¹ of the lost books of Pompeius Trogus, Paulus Orosius' *Historia aduersum Paganos*,² and the so-called *Compilation of St Albans*.³ Skeat was of the opinion that the English poet drew in part from Orosius and in part from the *Compilation of St Albans*.⁴ As it happens, Justin's epitome, Orosius' *Historia*, and the *Compilation* stand in such relationship to one another that, in the case of a moderately free translation of either of the three, it would in many instances be difficult, if not impossible, to determine the source; for Orosius drew freely from Justin,⁵ and the *Compilation* is in many places (particularly in those passages treating of the life of Philip) the merest cento of excerpts from Justin and Orosius.⁶ Happily, however, it is possible by a study of certain statements of fact in which Justin and Orosius differ from one another to show that the English poet knew only Orosius⁷ and

¹ Ed. Fr. Rühl, Leipzig: Teubner, 1915.

² Ed. K. Zangemeister in *Corp. Script. Ecclesiast. Lat.*, Vol. V, Vienna, 1882, and without critical apparatus, Leipzig: Teubner, 1889.

³ See account in *Speculum* I (1926), 225 ff. and selection of text in Appendix II, pp. 245 ff. below.

⁴ *Ed. cit.*, pp. xxxiii-iv.

⁵ See *ed. cit.* for indications of sources under corresponding portions of the text.

⁶ See article in *Speculum, cit. supra*.

⁷ Theoretically the poet may have sifted out the Orosian extracts from the *Compilation*; but in that case one could only say that he had got his Orosius in an exceedingly roundabout fashion; it would still be Orosius.

that, if he used Justin at all, it was only in such passages as were identical in substance with, and consequently indistinguishable from, Orosius.¹

The passages represented in *Al. A* by which one may test whether the author was using Justin or Orosius are as follows:

(a) *Al. A* (vv. 21, 22) tells us that Amyntas had two sons, Alexander Amyntiades and Philip. This agrees with Orosius against the more accurate Justin. Orosius (iii, 12, 1-2) mentions Alexander and Philip and an unnamed daughter (ignored by the English poet), while Justin (vii, 4, 5) properly credits Amyntas with '*tres filios . . . Alexandrum, Perdiccam et Philip-pum . . . et filiam Eurynoën.*'

(b) Orosius and *Al. A* agree in omitting all reference to Gygaea, second wife of Amyntas, and her three sons, Archelaus, Arridaeus, and Menelaus mentioned by Justin (vii, 4, 5).

(c) Orosius and *Al. A* agree in omitting the point stressed by Justin (vii, 4, 7-vii, 5, 5), that Amyntas knew of Eurydice's crimes but spared her for the sake of the children (cf. *Al. A*, 33-40.)

(d) At the end of the historical prologue (vv. 329-451) a fairly extensive account is given of the insurrection of Lacedaemonia and Phocis and of Philip's victory over these. Justin (vii, 1, 8) mentions the sack of Delphi by the Phocians in order to secure funds for the conduct of the Sacred War and refers to Onomarchus, successor of the Phocian leader Philomelus (viii, 1, 14). In Orosius (iii, 12, 13) Onomarchus appears as 'Oenomaus' which, modified in turn to 'Oenomanus',² evidently lies behind 'Enomanus' of *Al. A* 424, 429. Neither Orosius nor *Al. A* mentions the sack of Delphi.

¹ The *Compilation* was used for an historical prologue in the French J² prose Alexander (see p. 60 below), but there the translator included both the Justinian and Orosian portions, as explained in *Speculum*, loc. cit.

² Carried over into a Justinian text, this form evidently lay in the MS. behind the ed. of Justin by B. Aubri, Paris, 7 August 1517, fol. 28r. For contamination of Justin by Orosius and vice versa, see notes to 'Arisba' (*Al. A* 172) and Methone (*Al. A* 255).

Three passages in *Al. A* exhibit certain departures, real or apparent, from Orosius; these require a word of explanation.

(e) The account of Philip's accession to the throne (vv. 56-99) is, so far as I have been able to discover, peculiar to *Al. A*, where the story runs as follows:

On the death of Alexander, Philip, as natural successor, returns to ascend the throne, but the lords of his realm drive him away by force of arms. He returns to Thebes, where he wins the sympathies of Epaminondas. Epaminondas, eager to avenge this affront to his former protégé, advances with Philip against the Macedonians and drives them to Athens. He then besieges the Macedonian capital, thus enabling Philip to regain his kingdom (vv. 56-99).

Quite different is the account in Orosius:

Given first as a hostage to the Thebans by his brother Alexander, Philip was educated for three years in the house of Epaminondas, a most active ruler and very learned man. However, on the death of Alexander through the crime of his mother Eurydice . . . Philip, at the urgency of the populace, assumed the rule which was being guarded by the little son of his murdered brother (iii, 12, 1-3).

Justin (vii, 5) and the *Compilation* (fol. 2v, p. 248 below; from Justin) include details not in Orosius, but these in no wise account for the English version. The English poet has probably invented — and with a view to reintroducing Epaminondas.

(f) In his account of the siege of Methona, Orosius (iii, 12, 9) writes, '*Deinde Philippus, cum Mothonam urbem oppugnaverit, ictu sagittae oculum perdidit. Ipsam uero urbem mox expugnauit et cepit.*' These succinct statements are considerably expanded in *Al. A* 256-275 and 287-310 and are couched in lively, though thoroughly conventional terms.¹ The English

¹ Throughout, the diction is characteristic of the alliterative romances: battle-scenes, similarly described, abound in the *Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troye* (cf. 1192 ff., 4682 ff., 5705-6014, 6390-7042, 7227 ff., 7398 ff., 8542 ff., 9000 ff., 9632, and *passim*); the alliterative *Morte Arthure* (cf. 1617 ff., 1753 ff., 2095 ff., 2268 ff., 2448 ff., 3695 ff., and 4113 ff.); and *William of Palerne*

poet, enlarging upon Orosius, stresses Philip's rage at his misadventure and dwells upon his implacable wrath against his foes (cf. 280-286). On the other hand, Justin (vii, 6, 15) and the *Compilation* (fol. 3v) tell us that this injury in no wise discomfited Philip and that the latter displayed unusual clemency toward the defeated Macedonians.

Besides those already discussed, there are in Historical Interpolation No. 1 a number of passages in which one may readily detect minor elaborations and occasional rearrangements of Orosian material. These are discussed *passim* in the notes to the English text.¹

(2) *Historical Interpolation No. 2*

The second historical passage (900-953) is brief and bears upon Philip's campaigns shortly after Nectanabus had arrived in Macedonia. The subject is the Third Sacred War (see notes to these verses) and an unhistorical Cappadocian campaign.

(3) *Historical Interpolation No. 3*

The third historical passage (1202-1247) gives an account of Philip's attack upon Byzantium. The account is fragmentary, breaking off at an early stage in the siege when Philip's forces are still unable to take the city. The source is Orosius (iii, 13, 1-4), to whose story the English poet adds (no doubt from common knowledge) that Constantine, founder of Byzantium, was the '*sonne of Saint Elaine, þe seemelich ladie* (1224).'² The story of the siege of Constantinople is told by Justin (ix, 1, 2-9), but without the reference to Constantine found alike in Orosius and in *Al. A.*

(cf. 1146 ff., 3374 ff., 3613 ff., 3915 ff.). The technique employed can be traced back into Old English.

¹ See notes to vv. 11 ff., 178 ff., 370-396, 451.

² Orosius (vii, 25, 16) mentions in a different connection that Constantine was the son of Constantius, '*ex concubina Helena creatum*,' but this is obviously not the source of the English.

Thus the historical portions of *Al. A* amount to nothing more than a moderately free rendering of corresponding sections of Orosius, with due abridgment, expansion, and rearrangement of the material by the English poet.

THE PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES TRADITION OF THE ALEXANDER LEGEND

Almost all legendary accounts¹ of Alexander the Great must be ultimately referred, directly or indirectly, to a Greek prose

¹ Essentially *non-legendary* are those works based ultimately on the *history* of Quintus Curtius Rufus: the *Alexandreis* of Philippe Gautier de Châtillon (ca. 1178), Bishop of Lille, ed. F. A. W. Müldner, Leipzig: Teubner, 1863, and forthcoming edition by Karl Strecker; studied as a monument of twelfth-century literature by C. Giordano, *Alexandreis: Poema di Gautier da Châtillon* (Naples: Federico and Ardia, 1917). On the relation of Gautier to Curtius Rufus and to the legendary material, see H. Christensen, *Das Alexanderlied Walters von Châtillon* (Halle, 1905) and M. Bacherler, 'Gualterus' Alexandreis in ihrem Verhältnis zum Curtius Text,' *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* XXXVII (1917), 663-672, 698-704, 730-736, 761-766. Gautier's *Alexandreis* was translated into Czech verse (ca. 1265) (*Die Altschlesische Alexandreis*, ed. R. Trautmann, Heidelberg: Winter, 1916 with addit. notes in *Archiv f. Slav. Philol.* XXXVI, 1916, 431-435); into Icelandic prose by Brand Jónsson (ca. 1260) under the title *Alexanders Saga* (ed. C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1848); into Dutch verse by Jacob van Maerlant (ca. 1260) as *Alexanders Geesten* (ed. J. Franck, Groningen, 1882), later reduced to prose as *Die Historie . . . des alre Grootsten ende Machtichsten Coninc Alexanders*, ed. S. S. Hoogstra, *Prozabewerkingen van het Leven van Alexander den Groote*, 's-Gravenhage, 1898, pp. 38-174; see J. Prinsen, *Handboek tot de Nederlandsche Letterkundige Geschiednis*, 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1916, pp. 37-40, 41. Gautier's *Alexandreis* was likewise the main source of the *Alexander* of Ulrich von Eschenbach (see pp. 57, 58 below) and the Spanish *Libro de Alexandre* (ed. A. Morel-Fatio, Gesells. f. Roman. Literatur, Bd 10, Dresden, 1906; on author, see M. Macías, *Juan Lorenzo Segura y el Poema de Alexandre: Estudio Critico*, Orense: La Popular, 1913). Curtius Rufus, the chief source of the *Alexander* of Rudolf von Ems (see p. 57 below), was also translated into French (from an interpolated text) by a Portuguese, Vasco Fernández de Lucena, ca. 1468: see P. Meyer, II, 381-383, W. von Wurzbach, *Geschichte des Frz. Romans* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1912), I, 98, and K. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium d. Altfranz. Lit.* (3d ed., Halle: Niemeyer, 1925), p. 509; also into Danish (abridged) in 1630 by Johannes Sylvius of Hadersleben as *Alexander Magnus; det er: en Ny Krønike om Kong Alexander den Store* (publ. Copenhagen, 1630 and 1664). Numerous (mainly later) vernacular translations of Curtius Rufus, bearing clear indications of their source, need no special notice.

Besides these numerous descendants from the line Curtius Rufus-Gautier de Châtillon, should be noted here the existence of a number of Slavic and

romance¹ of uncertain date (200 B.C.—A.D. 200) attributed to an anonymous Alexandrine, now known as Pseudo-Callisthenes (abbrev. Ps.-Call.), and whose name serves as a generic term for the various redactions of the Greek text and the tradition implicit in these.² Unfortunately, the text of this work has not come down to us in its original form, and it is evident that it underwent at an early date revision and modification in the hands of various transcribers. Thus the textual tradition, as we have it to-day, requires a classification into four main groups customarily designated by the letters α , β , γ , $^*\delta$, and it is according to these lines of tradition that the manifold later translations are most conveniently arranged.³

Oriental texts—some of which may have been influenced by Pseudo-Callisthenes—cited by K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. Byzant. Lit.* (2d ed., Munich, 1897), pp. 849–852 (in general inadequate and out of date); also M. Steinschneider, *Die Hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 894 ff. and notes. W. Kroll, Pauly-Wissowa XX (1919), 1724, and E. A. W. Budge, *op. cit.* p. 39, n. 3, below, pp. lxxxix ff., call attention to several Oriental versions not directly in the Pseudo-Callisthenes tradition and to an extent furnish more recent bibliography than do Krumbacher and Steinschneider for certain outlying versions.

¹ See H. Kuhlmann, *De Pseudo-Callisthenis Carminibus Choliambicis*, diss. Münster, 1912.

² The fundamental work on the growth and structure of Ps.-Call. is A. Ausfeld, *Der Griechische Alexanderroman* (ed. W. Kroll, Leipzig: Teubner, 1907); for excellent general orientation, see W. von Christ, *Geschichte d. Griech. Lit.* (6th ed., Munich: Beck, 1924), II, ii, 813–816 (§ 734); for date, see von Christ, *op. cit.*, pp. 815, 816.

Except for the discussion of certain special topics, one can no longer rely on the general surveys (excellent in their time) by P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1886), Dario Carraroli, *La Leggenda di Alessandro Magno: Studio Storicocritico* (Mondovi, 1892), or V. M. Istrin, *Александрия Русских Хронографов* (Moscow, 1893), pp. 1–68.

The title of this Greek work is *Bios 'Alexándrou tou Makédonos*; the name Ps.-Call. derives from a Greek MS. of the β -recension where the author is said to be Callisthenes. The Armenian translation attributes the work to Aristotle, Julius Valerius to Aesop. See Kroll, *ed. cit. infra*, pp. xv, xvi.

³ For a fuller account, see Ausfeld, p. 8. The following editions of Greek texts are available: (1) by W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes)*: Vol. I, *Recensio Vetusta* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1926), based upon a MS. of the α -type (see p. 24 below), rev. A. R. Anderson, *Amer. Journ. of Philol.* XLVII (1927), 195–197; (2) by C. Müller, in Fr. Dübner's *Arriani Anabasis et Indica* (Paris: Didot, 1846), based upon a β -group MS. with variants from α and γ ; (3) by H. Meusel, 'Pseudo-Callisthenes nach der Leidener Hs.,' *Fleck-*

1. The α -Tradition

The α -tradition appears to stand closest to the no longer extant original text of Ps.-Call., and is best represented: (i) in Bibl. Natl. (Paris), *MS. fonds grec 1711*; (ii) in an Armenian translation; (iii) in the Latin translation by Julius Valerius; and (iv), probably in the *Ahbâr el-Iskender* of Muššabir ibn Fâtik.

i. Paris, Bibl. Natl. *MS. fonds grec 1711*

Bibl. Natl. (Paris), *MS. fonds grec 1711* (saec. xi, vellum), fol. 395r ff.,¹ best serves to represent the α -tradition in Greek, but of importance for controlling this are also the following translations from other α -type Greek texts (now lost):

ii. The Armenian Translation

From a Greek text belonging to the α -tradition was made in the fifth-century an Armenian translation, *Patmul'iun Aleksandri Makedonatsvoy* ['History of Alexander the Macedonian'], preserved in several MSS.² A similar text may lie

eisen's *Jahrbücher f. Class. Philol.*, N. F., Supplementband V (1871), 701 ff., an edition of a β -group MS., partly conflated with α . For discussion of the Greek text, see Kroll, *op. cit.*, 'Praefatio,' and *ibid.*, in Pauly-Wissowa XX (1919), 1707-1723. For a view of the Greek text differing from Ausfeld and Kroll, see W. Deimann, *Abfassungszeit und Verfasser des Griech. Alexanderromans* (Münster diss., 1914 [publ. 1917 — see Nachtrag]).

Editions of the β and γ texts are promised.

¹ *A'* of Müller's edition, and the basic MS. for Kroll, *ed. cit. supra*, where it is described pp. [iii]-iv (reference to Omont should read I, 128).

² Printed by the Mekhitarists, St Lazarus Monastery, Venice, 1842; edition noted (with reprint of introduction, brief general discussion, and literature) in the Mekhitarists' *Nouvelle Bibliographie Arménienne et Encyclopédie de la Vie Arménienne*, 1512-1905 (Venice: St Lazarus Press, 1909), Part I, col. 1223 ff., s. v. 'Calistenes.' Useful for non-Orientalists is the essay at retroversion of the Armenian into Greek by R. Raabe, 'Ἰστορία Ἀλεξάνδρου: Die Armenische Uebersetzung auf ihre mutmassliche Grundlage zurückgeführt, Leipzig, 1896. See Ausfeld, pp. 12-15. For a careful study of the Armenian version, see H. Dashian, [*Studies on Pseudo-Callisthenes' Life of Alexander*] (transl. title), ([Armenian] National Library [Series], Vol. V), Vienna: pub. Mekhitarists, 1892. A. Khananov, *Ж.М.Н.П.* CCLXXXIX (September, 1893), 242, n. 1, gives a Russian

behind certain passages in the Armenian history of Moses of Chorene.¹

iii. Julius Valerius' *Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis*

Of great importance to students of occidental literature is a Latin translation of a Greek manuscript of the *a*-type (perhaps *ca.* 300 A.D.) by one Julius Valerius under the title *Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis*.²

Itinerarium Alexandri

In either 346 or 359 A.D. Julius Valerius' *Res Gestae* was extensively utilized, together with Arrian's *Anabasis*, by an unidentified Roman writer of a life of Alexander, *Itinerarium Alexandri*, dedicated to Constantius, son of Constantine, and preserved in a unique manuscript.³

Vernacular Descendants of Julius Valerius' *Res Gestae*

To present in short compass and in logical order the vernacular romances derived essentially from Julius Valerius' *Res Gestae* is an almost hopeless task; for many of these works draw to a greater or less degree upon supplementary sources, often to such an extent as to admit a double classification. It is to be hoped that the following arrangement may not prove mis-

transl. of incipit. See also *Encycl. Brit.* 11th ed., II, 572. There are reasonable grounds for expecting the appearance within a year of an English translation of the Armenian printed text.

¹ J. Gildemeister, *Zs. d. Deutsch.-Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XL (1886), 88-91; see also Dashian, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

² Ed. with introduction by B. Kübler, Leipzig, 1888. See Ausfeld, pp. 10-12. For discussion and fullest literature, see M. Schanz, *Gesch. d. Römisch. Lit.* (2d ed., Munich, 1914), IV, i, 47-50; for points concerning textual criticism, see additionally W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, p. viii, n. 4 (*cit. supra*, p. 23, n. 3).

There is a modern Italian translation based on Mai's text with introduction, notes, and other apparatus: Giovanni Berengo, *Le Imprese di Alessandro Macedone*, Venice: Antonelli, 1852.

³ For discussion, editions, and bibliography, see Schanz, *loc. cit. supra*, pp. 115, 116.

leading and may furnish a convenient introduction to this material.

The earliest known use of Julius Valerius' *Res Gestae* by a vernacular writer appears in the incorporation by Alfred the Great (†901) of a phrase from this work (i, 23) into his Old-English translation of Orosius.¹

Albéric, Pfafe Lamprecht, and the OFr. *Roman*

At the head of a long line of descent, with Julius Valerius as the main source and noteworthy as the oldest occidental vernacular version, stands a late eleventh-century Provençal fragment (110 vv.) of an octosyllabic poem attributed by Pfafe Lamprecht to one Albéric of Besançon (perhaps Briançon);² in this are also traces of the J¹-recension of the *Historia de Preliis* (see p. 50 below).

Albéric's work early became the source of a German version (ca. 1130), Pfafe Lamprecht's *Alexander*,³ best represented in a Vörlau MS. (*Vörlau Alexander*, ca. 1150).⁴ Lamprecht's

¹ Pointed out by G. L. Hamilton, 'Quelques Notes sur l'Histoire de la Légende d'Alexandre le Grand en Angleterre au Moyen Age,' in *Mélanges de Philologie et d'Histoire offerts à M. Antoine Thomas* (Paris: Champion, 1927), pp. 197, 198 and notes. On the Alfredian authorship of the OE. Orosius, see C. Plummer, *Life and Times of Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1902), pp. 166 ff. In his *Widsith: A Study in Old English Heroic Legend* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 190, note to v. 15, Mr R. W. Chambers calls attention to Alfred's knowledge of the legend of Alexander, but does not indicate the version on which Alfred drew.

² For text and extensive literature, see W. Förster and E. Koschwitz, *Altfrz. Übungsbuch* (5th ed., Leipzig: Reissland, 1915), col. 237-246 and col. 323, 324 for important bibliographical addenda. According to *Vörlau Alex.* l. 13 the author is 'Alberich von Bisinzo,' according to *Strassb. Alex.* l. 13 'Elberich von Bisenzun'; note J. Ronjat, 'Albéric de Pisançon,' *Romania* LIII (1927), 222, 223.

³ For discussion and literature, G. Ehrismann, *Gesch. d. Deutsch. Lit.* II, i (Munich: Beck, 1922), 235-255. Ed. K. Kinzel, *Lamprechts Alexander nach den drei Texten mit den Fragmenten d. Albéric von Besançon*, Germanist. Hdbibl., VI, Halle, 1884.

⁴ Newly ed. H. E. Müller, *Die Werke des Pfaffen Lamprecht nach d. Aeltesten Ueberlieferung* (Münchener Texte, Bd 12), Munich: Callwey, 1923. Ehrismann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 238-240, 245; facs. of beginning of *Vörlau Alexander* in A. Salzer, *Illustrierte Geschichte d. Deutsch. Lit.* (2d ed., Regensburg: Habbel, 1926), I, plate facing p. 104.

text was then elaborated, and from a lost redaction drawing again on an early version of the *Historia de Preliis* closely resembling *Ba.* (see p. 41 below) and the *Iter ad Paradisum* (see p. 29 below) two redactions have survived, one (*ca.* 1175) in a Strassburg MS. (*Strassburg Alexander*), a second (*ca.* 1275) in a Basel MS. (*Basel Alexander*). The *Strassburg Alexander* contains some additional material,¹ while the *Basel Alexander* drew upon the J²-recension of the *Historia de Preliis* as a supplementary source.²

From Albéric's Provençal poem also are derived two Old-French poems, of which the oldest (*ca.* 1160) is known as the *Decasyllabic Alexander*.³ This decasyllabic poem, possibly by one 'clerc Symon',⁴ stands in a sense as a link between Albéric's fragmentarily preserved work and the famous dodecasyllabic *Roman d'Alixandre*⁵ (*ca. saec. xii ad fin.*) with which are conspicuously associated the names of Lambert li Tors, Alexandre de Bernay, Pierre (Perrot) de St Cloud.⁶

The literary history of the dodecasyllabic *Roman* is compli-

¹ Ehrismann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 242-245; see also Pfister, p. 41 (chart) and p. 42 (e); note additionally J. van Dam, 'Der Künstlerische Wert der Strassburger *Alexander*,' *Neophilologus* XII (1927), 104-117.

² Ehrismann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 240-242, 245. On the J²-recension of the *Historia de Preliis*, see p. 58 below.

³ Fragmentarily preserved in 2 MSS; Bibl. de l'Arsenal frag. printed in Meyer, I, 25-59; cf. II, 102-132. See G. Gröber, *Grundriss d. Roman. Philol.* II, i, 579 ff. Stylistic notes by E. Faral, *Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes et Romans Courtois du Moy. Age* (Paris: Champion, 1913), pp. 65, 346-348, 372, n. 4.

⁴ See Meyer, II, 108, 109, and arguments in favor of 'Symon' by Veselovskii, 'Новые Данные для Истории Романа об Александре,' in *Сборник Отделения Русского Языка*, etc., LIII (1892), No. 7, pp. 12-14. For possible influence of *Roman* in art, see A. L. Meissner, 'Bildliche Darstellungen der Alexandersage in Kirchen des Mittelalters,' Herrig's *Archiv* LXVIII (1882), esp. 181 ff.

⁵ Ed. H. Michelant, Bibl. d. Literar. Vereins, Bd 13, Stuttgart, 1846. Notice also a slightly abridged edition of Michelant with readings from other MSS (but not indicated in text) by F. Le Court de la Villehassetz and Eugène Talbot under the fanciful title *Alexandriade*, etc., Dinan and Paris, 1861; the text is quite uncritical and the notes on the whole insignificant, but the index of proper names is extremely useful.

⁶ See Meyer, II, 229, 230.

cated by problems of multiple authorship, supplementary sources, and interpolations woven early and late into the numerous MSS of the poem.¹ Here space permits the enumeration of only a few of such works and widespread motifs as have been interpolated or utilized in the *Roman*.

The *Fuerre de Gadres*

The story of the *Fuerre de Gadres*, going back to oriental saga material,² was developed and interpolated in the *Roman* where it plays an important rôle.³ Subsequently, the version used in the *Roman* passed into the *Roman de Toute Chevalerie*.⁴ In a greatly abridged and possibly more primitive form, this same material was also used by the author of the Latin J³-recension of the *Historia de Preliis* for the episode of the siege of Tyre.⁵ In English the *Fuerre* is represented as an interpolated episode in the Middle-English J^{3a} *Wars of Alexander*,⁶ where it is much abridged, and in two Scottish poems, the *Buik of Alexander* (Arbuthnot's print of 1580)⁷ and Sir Gilbert

¹ P. Meyer's *Alexandre le Grand* is a study of these problems. For later literature, see G. Gröber, *Grundriss d. Roman. Philol.* II, i, 579-581 and K. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium d. Altfrz. Lit.* (3d ed., Niemeyer: Halle, 1925), pp. 248-250. For Alexander's flight through the air, see G. Millet, 'L'Ascension d'Alexandre,' *Syria: Revue d'Art Oriental* IV (1923), 120 ff.

² Pfister, 'Zur Entstehung und Geschichte des *Fuerre de Gadres*,' *Zs. f. Franz. Spr. u. Lit.* XLI (1913), 102-108.

³ In Michelant, *ed. cit. supra*, pp. 93 ff.; see Meyer, II, 154 ff., 239 ff. An edition of the OFr. text is also available in R. L. Graeme Ritchie, *The Buik of Alexander* (Scot. Text Soc., New Ser., No. 17, 1925); note Graeme Ritchie's full Introduction.

⁴ See p. 33 below; also R. Wolff, *Der Interpolierte Fuerre de Gadres im Alexanderroman des Thomas von Kent* (Bonn diss., 1914) and H. Schneegans, 'Ueber die Interpolation des 'Fuerre de Gadres' im Altfranz. Roman des Eustache von Kent,' *Die Neueren Sprachen*, 1910, *Ergänzungsband (Festschrift Wilhelm Viëtor)*, pp. 27-61: convenient analysis of plot, *ibid.*, pp. 27-29.

⁵ Pfister, *art. cit. supra*.

⁶ Vv. 1193-1336. Ed. W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 47; see p. 56 below and Skeat's note to v. 1193, *ed. cit.*, p. 296. The omission of the *Fuerre* in the ME. metrical *Kyng Alisaunder* constitutes one of the features of this poem.

⁷ Ed. R. L. Graeme Ritchie, *cit. supra* for Scots and OFr. vis-à-vis; see A. Thomas, *Hist. Litt. de la France* XXXVI, i (1924), 32, 33.

Hay's *Buik of King Alexander* (1493).¹ In an abbreviated form the *Fuerre de Gadres* was utilized in the thirteenth-century English romance, *Richard Cœur de Lion*, vv. 6225-6364,² based in the main upon a lost French original; the name of the town here appears as 'Gatrys.'³ Interesting to note is an incomplete fourteenth-century Latin digest of the *Fuerre*, at one time thought to have belonged to Boccaccio.⁴

Mention must also be made of the wide-spread tale of the unclean people of Gog and Magog⁵ and of the *Iter ad Paradisum* — both ultimately of Jewish origin⁶ — found in Old

¹ See J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1916 ff.), pp. 105, 106 and p. 779 for prints, excerpts, and literature; also A. Thomas, *loc. cit.*, pp. 33, 34. Note allusion to *Fuerre* in Barbour's *Bruce* iii, 73-92.

² Ed. K. Brunner, *Der Mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz* (Wiener Beiträge z. Engl. Philol., Bd XLII, 1913); German translation, *op. cit.*, pp. 587 ff.

³ The source of this passage was kindly pointed out to me by Mr G. L. Hamilton, who thereby corrects Gaston Paris, *Romania* XXVI (1897), 367, n. 2 and p. 383, and Brunner, *ed. cit.*, p. 466 under 'Gatrys.'

⁴ Ed. P. Meyer, *Romania* XI (1882), 325-332; cf. D. Carraroli, *La Leggenda di Alessandro Magno* (Mondovi, 1892), p. 278.

⁵ Michelant's ed., *cit. supra*, pp. 300 ff. Details in Sackur, pp. 26-39, 72-75; Meyer, II, 170, and esp. pp. 386-389; C. A. Hedenskog, *Berättelse om Alexander den Store; Öfversättning från Syriskan* (Lund diss., 1868), pp. 17-23; *Jewish Encyclopedia* V (1903), 212 (under 'Eschatology') and VI (1904), 19, 20 (under 'Gog and Magog'); Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* V (1909), 14, 15 (under 'Gog and Magog'); Th. Nöldeke, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans,' *Denkschriften d. kgl. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Kl., XXVIII (Vienna, 1890), Abh. 5, 50; V. Istrin, *Открытие Мефодия Патарского* (Moscow, 1897), Pt ii (texts), pp. 20, 54, 90, 106, 125, 204 (Index); I. Friedländer, *Die Chadhirlegende u. der Alexanderroman* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913), p. 51; Fr. Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 267, 268 and *idem*, *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* XXXV (1915), 1549-1552. For Gog and Magog (Gogmagog, etc.) in English tradition, see H. Bieling, *Zu den Sagen von Gog und Magog*, progr., Berlin, 1882.

⁶ Discussed by Meyer, II, 47-51, 357, and 395 with references. Ed. J. Zacher, *Alexandri Magni Iter ad Paradisum*, Königsberg, 1859; text reprinted by K. Kinzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-384; reedited with notice taken of additional MSS by M. Esposito, *Hermathena* XV (1909), 368-382. Bibliography Ehrismann, *op. cit.*, p. 247, n. 2, and additionally Veselovskii, *Византийский Временник* IV (1897), 533 ff. *passim*; T. F. Crane, *Romanic Review* IX (1918), 129 ff. *passim*; and R. Hartmann, 'Alexander und der Rätzelstein aus dem Paradies,' in *Volume*

French¹ and also translated into German by the redactor of the lost source of the Strassburg and Basel recensions of Lamprecht's *Alexander*.²

Later Continuators of the *Roman*

Few mediaeval poems enjoyed greater contemporary popularity than the *Vœux du Paon ou le Roman de Cassamus*, written and apparently invented by Jacques de Longuyon *ca.* 1312; this poem has been copied into so many MSS of the *Roman* that it may almost claim to be an integral part of this branch of the Alexander Legend.³ Circulated in separate MSS and translated into other vernaculars this was variously utilized: thus, among the translations may be counted a lost Spanish *Votos del Pavon*,⁴ a fragmentarily preserved Middle-English *Romance of Cassamus*,⁵ and an incomplete Dutch *Roman van Cassamus*.⁶ The *Vœux du Paon* also appears as an episode, *The Avowis*, in the two Scottish Alexander books cited above (pp. 28, 29), and

of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1922), pp. 179-185.

¹ Not in Michelant's text of the *Roman*, but ed. Meyer, *Romania* XI (1882), 228-247.

² Vv. 6597-7278, *ed. cit.*, Kinzel, pp. 357 ff. (cf. *ibid.*, pp. xlviii, xlix).

³ Vv. 1-6150; ed. R. L. Graeme Ritchie, *The Buik of Alexander*, Scottish Text Soc., New Ser., No. 12 (1921) and No. 21 (1927). See Meyer, II, 221, 222, 268, 269; *idem*, *Romania* XI (1882), 247 ff. for the distribution of this poem in MSS of the *Roman*; also Gröber's *Grundriss* II, i, 818; and especially A. Thomas, *Hist. Litt. de la France* XXXVI, i (1924), 1 ff., on author and his work. For copies once in the library of Philippe le Bon of Burgundy, see Georges Doutrepoint, *Inventaire de la 'Librairie' de Philippe le Bon* (Brussels: Kiessling, 1906), pp. 112, 113; also *idem*, *La Littérature Française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Champion, 1909), Index. For relation to *Karl und Elegast*, see Paul's *Grundriss* (2d ed.), II, i, 425, n. 5.

⁴ Former existence noted by A. Morel Fatio, *El Libro de Alixandre* (Gesells. f. Roman. Lit., Bd 10, Dresden, 1906), Introduction, p. xvi; see also A. Thomas, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.

⁵ Ed. K. Roskopf, *Editio Princeps des Mittellengl. Cassamus*, diss., Munich, 1911; text, pp. 51 ff. See J. E. Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, pp. 105, 779.

⁶ Ed. E. Verwijs, *Bibl. v. Middelnederl. Letterk.*, Afd. 2., Groningen, 1869; see J. te Winkel, *De Ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (Harlem, 1908), I, 47, 48, and A. Thomas, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.

was utilized in the fourteenth-century French prose-romance *Perceforest*, later translated into Italian, where one finds the Arthurian and the Alexander cycles curiously mingled.¹ As a continuation of the *Vœux du Paon* was written (before 1338) the *Restor du Paon* by Jean Brisebarre,² and in further continuation the *Parfait du Paon* by Jean de Le Mote in 1340.³

The ethics of the mediaeval chivalric code demanded a complete and prompt vengeance of Alexander's traitorous murder; since this was not furnished by the *Roman* or its sources, the deficiency was supplied not once but twice: in 1191 by the *Vengement Alixandre* of Gui de Cambrai⁴ and probably somewhat earlier (before 1181?) by the *Vengeance Alixandre* of Jean le Névelon.⁵ Both poems were freely appended to the *Roman*;

¹ See Gröber's *Grundriss* II, i, 1009; W. von Wurzbach, *Geschichte d. Frz. Romans* (Heidelberg, 1912), I, 58 and 67 (for literature); Veselovskii, 'Новые Данные,' *Сборник Отделения Русского Языка*, etc., Vol. LIII (1892), No. 7, pp. 19, 20. In the *Vœux du Paon* are first found the Nine Worthies; thus this work may be said to have influenced the fourteenth-century ME. *Parlement of the Three Ages* (ed. I. Gollancz, *Select Early English Poems*, No. II, London: Milford, 1915), vv. 332-404 and *ed. cit.* Preface, Notes, and Appendix; on item XV note R. S. Loomis, 'Verses on the Nine Worthies,' *Mod. Philol.* XV, 1917, 211 ff.; also the French *Triumphe des Neuf Preux* (pub. 1487). For possible influence on Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, see A. Thomas, *loc. cit.*, p. 35.

² Meyer, II, 269 and notes; see G. Gröber's *Grundriss d. Roman. Philol.* II, i, 818, and A. Thomas, *loc. cit.*, pp. 35 ff. on author and his work.

³ Meyer, II, 271, 272, and esp. p. 396; Gröber's *Grundriss* II, i, 818, and A. Thomas, *loc. cit.*, pp. 66 ff. on the author and his work.

⁴ Meyer, II, 255-261; *idem*, *Romania* XI (1882), 255 ff., for distribution of this poem in the MSS of the *Roman*; Gröber's *Grundriss* II, i, 581; and most recently B. Edward's *A Classification of the Manuscripts of Gui de Cambrai's Vengement Alixandre* (Elliott Monographs, No. 20), Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1926, rev. S. Hofer, *Zs. f. Franz. Spr. u. Lit.* L (1927), 187, 188.

⁵ Meyer, II, 261-267. Ed. O. Schultz-Gora, *Die Vengeance Alexandre von Jehan le Nevelon*, Berlin, 1902, who dates the work 1308, thus agreeing with Meyer, II, 261 ff.; but K. Sachow, *Ueber die Vengeance d'Alexandre von Jean le Venelais*, diss. Halle, 1902, urges the date 1181. Important review of Schultz-Gora and of Sachow by E. Walberg, *Romania* XXXII (1903), 150 ff. Gröber's *Grundriss* II, i, 817. E. Walberg, 'Classification des Manuscrits de la Vengeance d'Alexandre de Jean le Nevelon,' *Från Filologiska Föreningen i Lund, Språkliga Uppsatser* III (1906), 5-30. Both poems (date, authorship) are discussed illuminatingly by E. C. Armstrong, *The Authorship of the Vengement Alixandre and of the Vengeance Alixandre* (Elliott Monographs, No. 19, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926); pp. 26-50 present weighty reasons for iden-

indeed in a Parma MS. the two are amalgamated.¹ One or the other or both of these poems were apparently known to Jacob van Maerlant, author of *Alexanders Geesten* (ca. 1260).²

The *Roman* was twice rendered into prose. The first redaction is the anonymous *Fais et Conquestes du Noble Roy Alexandre*, preserved in MS. *Besançon* 836 (saec. xv?);³ this includes various of the later continuations. The *Roman* is likewise the main source of the considerable prose work, *L'Histoire du Roi Alexandre*, composed before 1448 by Jean Wauquelin of Mons who made supplementary use of the *Fuerre de Gadres*, the *Vengeance* of Jean le Névelon, a version of the *Historia de Preliis*, and other material.⁴

Finally may be noted an unpublished romance, *Florimont*, by Aimon de Varennes (1188), in which is given a fanciful invented account of the antecedents of Philip and Alexander.⁵

tifying the author of the *Vengeance* with one Archdeacon Jean le Névelon who would have composed the poem just before 1181 (cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49); rev. S. Hofer, *Zs. f. Franz. Spr. u. Lit.* L (1927), 184-187.

¹ Edwards, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-12; Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

² On *Alexanders Geesten*, see p. 22, n. 1, above. There is no reason for believing with te Winkel (Paul's *Grundriss*, 2d ed., II, i, 425) that a Dutch translation of the *Roman* or of either of the revenge poems was known to van Maerlant. In his *Spiegel Historiae* (mainly an incomplete paraphrase of Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* and ed. by M. de Vries and E. Verwijs, Leyden, 1863-1879), Maerlant mentions a 'Romans' in connection with Alexander's burial (Pt I, Bk IV, Canto lvi, v. 3 = *ed. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 174) and a little later, in writing of the partition of Alexander's empire, he says '*Dat Walsch maect grote sprake/ Van sconinx Alexanders wrake*' (Pt I, Bk V, Canto i, vv. 17, 18 = *ed. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 180). There is nothing, however, about a Dutch translation of these works.

³ Noted by Meyer, II, 328, 329 and E. C. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 30, n. 1. Inedited, rotographs are deposited in Romance Seminar, Princeton University.

⁴ Meyer, II, 313 ff. for MSS and discussion; also Gröber's *Grundriss* II, i, 1144; W. von Wurzbach, *Geschichte d. Frz. Romans*, pp. 98, 104; E. C. Armstrong, *op. cit. supra*, pp. 29, 30. For an account and reproduction of the superb illuminations in MS. No. 456 (*Collection Auguste Dutuit: Livres et Manuscrits*, Paris: Rahir, 1899, pp. 176-178), see Paul Durrieu, 'L'Histoire du Bon Roi Alexandre,' *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* XIII (1903), 49-64, 103-121.

⁵ For outline and specimen verses, see P. Paris, *Les Manuscrits François de la Bibl. du Roy* (Paris, 1840), III, 9-55. Further, see K. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium d. Altfrz. Lit.* (3d ed., Niemeyer: Halle, 1925), pp. 251, 358, 359, 361 (bibliog.); W. von Wurzbach, *Gesch. d. Frz. Romans, cit. supra*, pp. 98, 99, 104; and Gröber's *Grundriss* II, i, 589, 590.

The *Roman de Madien* by Perrinet du Pin (1447) is a variant version of this.¹

The *Zacher Epitome*

In the ninth century Julius Valerius' *Res Gestae* was made the basis of an exceedingly popular and much used digest, the so-called *Zacher Epitome*;² besides this there are several kindred epitomes of lesser contemporary fame.³

The *Roman de Toute Chevalerie*

The outstanding vernacular work based primarily upon the *Zacher Epitome* is the yet unpublished *Roman de Toute Chevalerie* by Thomas (possibly Eustache) of Kent (ca. 1280). This text makes important supplementary use of the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotilem* (see pp. 47-49 below), the *Iter ad Paradisum* (see p. 29 above), various historical writers, and, as

¹ W. von Wurzbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 104; Gröber's *Grundriss* II, i, 1176.

² *Iulii Valerii Epitome*, ed. J. Zacher, Halle, 1867. This was translated into French probably in the fifteenth century and is found in a manuscript containing also a translation of *Epistola I* (see p. 48 below); noted by Meyer, II, 302, 303.

³ Based on, or making use of, the *Zacher Epitome* is the *Oxford Epitome*, ed. G. G. Cillié, *De Iulii Valerii Epitoma Oxoniensi*, diss. Strassburg, 1905; closely related to this is an epitome preserved in a Montpellier MS., ed. A. Hilka, *Roman. Forsch.* XXIX (1911), 31-69. Independent of these is the so-called *Leignitz Historia*, described by A. Hilka, 85. *Jahresbericht d. Schlesisch. Gesells. f. Vaterl. Cultur* (1908), iv. Abt., pp. 24-33, and ed. with Introduction, *Roman. Forsch.* XXIX (1911), 1-30 (on this see additional note by E. Faral, *Romania* XL, 1911, 167, n. 2); discussed by Pfister, *Wochenschr. f. Klass. Philol.* XXVIII (1911), 27-30; XXIX (1912), 332-335. On the *Leignitz Historia*, see also Pfister, p. 37.

Of disputed classification is the so-called *Metz Epitome*. See Schanz, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 51 for literature; on language add E. Wölfflin, 'Die Neue Epitoma Alexandri,' *Archiv f. Latein. Lexicograph.* XII (1901), 187-196; see also W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni (cit. supra)*, pp. x ff., for arguments in favor of the view that this may be a direct translation from a Greek MS. of the α -type and of value for establishing a critical α -text.

For Vincent of Beauvais' abridgment of the *Zacher Epitome*, see J. Klapper, *Exempla aus HSS. d. Mittelalters* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1911), pp. 7, 8 and 82; for possible later use of this by Jean Wauquelin (p. 32 above), see Meyer, II, 317.

an interpolation, the *Fuerre de Gadres* (see pp. 28 ff. above).¹ Making some supplementary use of a J-recension of the *Historia de Preliis*, John Gower drew upon the *Roman de Toute Chevalerie* for much of his 'Tale of Nectanabus' (*Conf. Amant.* vi, 1789-2336),² whence it passed into Portuguese through Robert Payn's (lost) translation, later to be rendered into Spanish by Juan de Cuenca.³

Kyng Alisaunder

Based upon the *Roman de Toute Chevalerie*, yet treating its sources with considerable freedom and individuality, is the Middle-English metrical romance *Kyng Alisaunder* (before 1330); important to note is the complete omission of the episode of the *Fuerre de Gadres*.⁴ Fragments of an expanded version of *Kyng Alisaunder* (including the *Epistola ad Aristotilem*) survive in six printed leaves, tentatively dated ca. 1550.⁵

¹ See Johanna Weynand, *Der Roman de Toute Chevalerie des Thomas von Kent in seinem Verhältnis zu seinen Quellen* (diss. Bonn/Rh., 1911), esp. pp. 77-80 for analytic tabular view of the sources; also K. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der Altfrz. Lit.* (3d ed., Halle: Niemeyer, 1925), pp. 251, 252 for bibliog. Fragments, including Nectanebus episode, published by Meyer, I, 195-235 (varia, pp. 340-342); in America rotographs are now conveniently available in the Library of Congress, Mod. Lang. Ass'n Deposit No. 59 (Durham MS.) and No. 65 (Paris MS.).

² See G. C. Macaulay, *Complete Works of John Gower* (Oxford, 1901), III, 519-521 (notes), and G. L. Hamilton, 'Studies in the Sources of Gower,' *Journ. Engl. German. Philol.* XXVI (1927), 504 ff. For Gower's use of the *Historia de Preliis*, see p. 58 below.

³ *Confesion del Amante por Joan Goer. Spanische Uebersetzung von John Gowers Confessio Amantis*, ed. A. Birch-Hirschfeld (Leipzig: Seele, 1909), pp. 361-370; see introduction to *ed. cit.*, pp. iii, iv, xxiv.

⁴ Uncritically edited by H. Weber, *Metrical Romances of the XIII., XIV., and XV. Centuries* (Edinburg, 1810), I, 3-327. See Theodor Hildenbrand, *Die Altfrz. Alexanderdichtung 'Le Roman de Toute Chevalerie' des Thomas von Kent und die Mittlengl. Romanze 'Kyng Alisaunder' in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander* (diss. Bonn/Rh., 1911); also J. E. Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (New Haven, 1916), pp. 100-102, 778. A critical text (with French parallel) of vv. 7826-8035 (end) in A. Brandl and O. Zippel, *Mittelengl. Sprach-u. Literaturproben* (2d ed., Berlin: Weidmann, 1927), pp. 66-71. For date and authorship, see literature cited G. L. Hamilton, *Mélanges de Philol. et d'Hist. offerts à M. Antoine Thomas* (Paris: Champion, 1927), p. 196, n. 5.

⁵ J. W. Wells' *Manual*, pp. 106, 779; published by K. D. Bülbring, *Engl.*

iv. Muššabir ibn Fâtik's *Ahbâr el-Iskender*

An Arabic story of Alexander, *Ahbâr el-Iskender*, written by the famous physician Muššabir ibn Fâtik (†1053/4) makes extensive use of the α -tradition of Ps.-Call.;¹ from the Arabic was made a Spanish translation, in turn rendered into Latin.²

The Coptic Fragments

Placed here, pending further study, are nine Coptic fragments (Sahidic or Thebaic dialect), thought by Oscar von Lemm to belong to a branch of the Ps.-Call. tradition not represented in the ordinary α -, β -, γ -, or δ -categories.³

2. The β -Tradition

The β -tradition of Ps.-Call., available in the editions of Müller (*B'*) and Meusel,⁴ presents a revision of the α -tradition.⁵

Stud. XIII (1889), 145 ff., with corrective note by G. L. Kittredge, *Engl. Stud.* XIV (1890), 392. These fragments are listed as item 321 in *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, London, 1926.

¹ B. Meissner, *Zs. f. Deutsch.-Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XLIX (1895), 583-627, esp. 620, where, it should be noted, the writer says that this Arabic version is closely related to the Syriac version (δ -tradition; see p. 38 below); a study of occidental versions of Muššabir is promised by G. L. Hamilton, *Speculum* II (1927), 136, n. 1; see also *ibid.*, p. 119, n. 2; also A. N. Veselovskii, *Из Истории Романа у Иосифу* (St Petersburg, 1886), I, 418 f.; also Ausfeld, p. 21.

² Meissner, *art. cit.*, p. 585.

³ O. von Lemm, *Der Alexanderroman bei den Kopten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alexandersage im Orient . . . Text, Uebersetzung, Anmerkungen, mit zwei Tafeln*, Leningrad (St.-Petersbourg), 1903, p. xiii. Note additionally R. Peitschmann, 'Zu den Ueberbleibseln des Koptischen Alexanderbuches,' *Beiträge zur Bücherkunde u. Philologie August Wilmanns gewidmet* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 307-312. English transl. and discussion by Sir G. Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 1915), pp. 290 ff. = *idem*, *Les Contes Populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne* (4th ed., Paris: Guilmoto, [1911]), pp. 311 ff.

⁴ Cited p. 23, n. 3, above.

⁵ Ausfeld, pp. 15, 16. The β -type is especially interesting for the interpolation (shared by γ) of the Gog and Magog story; on this see Pfister, *Berl. Philol. Wochen.* XXXV (1915), 1549-1552; Sackur, p. 27, and p. 29 above. For the episode of the Land of Darkness and the Water of Life here and classification

It is the type to which belongs the majority of Greek MSS of Ps.-Call.

The Russian Chronographs

A Greek MS. of the β -type, not unlike the Leyden MS. edited by Meusel, served not later than the twelfth century as the source of the Alexander story in Bulgaria, whence it was translated and incorporated in the Russian chronographs.¹

'O Bíos 'Αλεξάνδρου and the Syriac Chronicle

A β -MS. is likewise the chief source of a fourteenth-century Byzantine Greek poem (ca. 1385), 'O Bíos Αλεξάνδρου.² A MS. of a similar type appears to have been used in the Syriac chronicle formerly attributed to Dionysius Telmaharensis (i. e. of Tell-Mahrē).³

of texts where this does and does not occur, see T. F. Crane, *Romanic Review* IX (1918), 134, n. 5.

¹ Edited, analysed, and studied by V. M. Istrin, *Александрия Русских Хронографов: Исследование и Текст* (Moscow: University Press, 1893), esp. pp. 138, 139, 251, 287-288, 310; rev. V. Jagić, *Archiv f. Slav. Philol.* XVI (1894), 224-229; conveniently summarized in V. M. Istrin, *Очерк Истории Древнерусской Литературы* (Leningrad: 'Наука и Школа,' 1922), pp. 98 ff. Further see A. Schakhmatov, *Византийский Временник* VII (1900), 13-31; Veselovskii, *ibid.* IV (1897), 533 ff.; Istrin, *ibid.*, X (1903), 1-30; most recently, see A. Orlov, 'К Вопросу об Ипатьевской Летописи,' in *Известия Отделения Русского Языка* of the Leningrad Academy of Sciences, XXXI (1926-1927). For Alexander material in an Old Slavich chronicle in Vienna, see D. Žunković, *Die Slavische Vorzeit* (Maribor, 1918), pp. 211, 212, 299.

² Text in W. Wagner, *Trois Poèmes Grecques du Moyen Age* (ed. D. Bikelas, Berlin, 1881), pp. 56-241. Ausfeld, pp. 24, 25. On sources see H. Christensen, 'Die Vorlagen d. Byzantin. Alexandergedichtes,' *Kgl. Bay Akad. d. Wissensch., Sitzungsber.*, phil. hist. Kl., 1897, Nr 1, pp. 33-118; *ibid.*, 'Die Sprache des Byz. Alexandergedichtes,' *Byzant. Zs.* VII (1898), 366-397. See also K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. Byzantin. Lit.* (2d ed., Munich, 1897), pp. 850-852; Veselovskii, *Византийский Временник* IV (1897), 533 ff.; discussed briefly in literary-historical setting by E. P. Voutierides, *Ιστορία τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Λογοτεχνίας* I (Athens: M. Zekakes, 1924), 102, 103.

³ Text and Swedish translation (including Gog and Magog episode) by C. A. Hedenskog, *Berättelse om Alexander den Store, Översättning från Syriskan med [Inledning och] Anmärkningar* (Lund diss.), Lund, 1868, pp. 26-37. For authorship of *Chronicle* see *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., VIII, 286, correcting W. Wright, *Short History of Syriac Literature* (London, 1894), p. 201.

3. The γ -Tradition

The γ -tradition, represented by Bibl. Natl. MS. *Suppl. Grec.* 113 (A.D. 1567; *C'* of Müller's edition), is the work of a Jew who expanded a modified β -manuscript; the various interpolations give this branch of the tradition a special interest.¹

Based in part upon a MS. of the γ -type, is a Hebrew romance, in the main a farrago of fanciful adventures.²

The Serbian Alexander

The investigations of A. N. Veselovskii³ point to the existence of a Greek text based on Ps.-Call. (Müller *C'*) with use of a Byzantine text similar to *Διήγησις καὶ Γέννησις καὶ ἡ Ζωὴ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου*,⁴ the New-Greek chapbook (1699),⁵ and possibly the *Historia de Preliis*;⁶ this composite (lost) Greek

¹ Ausfeld, p. 17; for MS. see H. Omont, *Inventaire Sommaire des MSS Grecs de la Bibl. Nat'l.*, Partie 1ère (Paris, 1886), p. 218. Cf. important study of Jewish elements by Fr. Pfister, 'Eine Gründungsgeschichte Alexandrias,' *Sitzb. d. Heidelb. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1914, Nr 11; Gog and Magog, Sackur, pp. 35 ff.

² Ausfeld, pp. 26, 27. Known to exist in 3 MSS of which a Modena (Italy) MS. has been edited by I. Lévi, 'Un Nouveau Roman d'Alexandre,' *Festschr. z. 80. Geburtstage M. Steinschneider's* (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 235-237 and Hebrew text, pp. 142-163. Translation only from a superior Bodleian MS. by M. Gaster, *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Great Britain and Ireland for 1897*, pp. 499-549; on pp. 485-498 Gaster discusses the MSS in question, supplementing and clarifying Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 904, 905, versions 'i' and 'g.' Ausfeld, pp. 26, 27. Studied by A. Garkavi in A. N. Veselovskii, 'Новые Данные для Истории Романа об Александре,' in *Сборник Отделения Русского Языка*, etc., Vol. LIII (1892), No. 7, esp. pp. 65 ff.; bibliog., pp. 63-65, and further considered by Veselovskii, *Византийский Временник* IV (1897), 533 ff.

³ *Из Истории Романа и Повести* (St Petersburg, 1886), I, 131 ff., based in the main on articles in *Ж.М.Н.П.* CCXXXIII (June, 1884), 149-197; CCXXXV (September, 1884), 16-85; CCXLI (October, 1885), 169-209. Rev. V. Jagić, *Archiv f. Slav. Philol.* X (1887), 236 ff.; summary of Veselovskii's conclusions by V. M. Istrin, *Александрия Русских Хронографов* (Moscow, 1893), pp. 17 ff. Note further A. Pavloskii, *Byzantin. Zs.* II (1893), 397, n. 3.

⁴ Vienna MS., edited Veselovskii, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, appendix, pp. 1-66; cf. also late mediaeval Greek text in *Archiv f. Slav. Philol.* XI (1888), 327; and also text ed. V. M. Istrin, 'История Сербской Александрии в Русской Литературе,' in *Летопись Историко-Филологического Общества XVI* (Odessa, 1910), 1-164.

⁵ See under Rumanian Alexander, n. 4 below.

⁶ Cf. Veselovskii, *op. cit.*, p. 329 and see pp. 50 ff. below.

text Veselovskii designates *C1* and considers it the source of the Serbian Alexander (*ca. saec. xiv*).¹

The Georgian (Gruzinian) Alexander

The Serbian Alexander is the source of a Georgian prose translation (*saec. xiv?*), later versified (*saec. xvi?*);² both are inedited.

The Rumanian Alexander

Closely related to the Serbian Alexander and to the New-Greek chapbook, 'Ἀλέξανδρος Μακέδων (Venice, 1699 and later),³ is the Rumanian prose Alexander preserved in late MSS and printed books, all now thought to be derived from a single Rumanian archetype.⁴

4. The δ-Tradition

The δ-tradition is preserved in no Greek MS., but is indirectly represented in the ultimate (lost) source of a Syriac and an Ethiopian version and in the (lost) Greek MS. translated by the Archpresbyter Leo of Naples. The δ-type probably grew out of an independent reworking of a good α-type MS.⁵

¹ Two slightly different texts have been edited: (Croatian) V. Jagić, 'Život Aleksandra Velikoga' in *Starine* of the Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Vol. III (1871), 203-331; (Serbian) Stojan Novaković, 'Приповетка о Александру Великом у Старој Српској Книжевности,' *Гласник Српског Ученог Друштва*, 2d ser., IX (1878), pp. lviii + 150. A. N. Pypin, *История Русской Литературы*, I (St Petersburg, 1898), ch. 13, p. 65 mentions as 'сербская редакция,' the seventeenth-century Alexander MS. issued in facsimile by the Общество Любителей Древней Письменности as publications No. 67 (1880), No. 87 (1886); illuminations mentioned by Pypin, *loc. cit.*, p. 34, n. 1.

² A. Khakhanov, 'Грузинская Повесть об Александре Македонском и Сербская Александрия,' *Ж.М.Н.П.* CCLXXXIX (September, 1893), 241-252; confirmed by K. Kekelidze, ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორია II (Tiflis: T. Č'ik'vanaia, 1924), 214-216.

³ See N. Cartoian, *Alexandria in Literatura Românească. Noi Contribuții: Studii și Text* (Bucharest, 1922), pp. 3 ff., also *ibid.*, *Alexandria in Lit. Român.* (Bucharest, 1910), rev. *Dacoromania* I (1920-1921), 453-459.

⁴ See Cartoian, *op. cit.*, for pertinent literature. Gaster in Gröber's *Grundriss d. Roman. Philol.* II, iii (1901), 379, 380, is quite out of date.

⁵ Ausfeld, pp. 8, 18.

i. The Syriac Prose Translation

The Syriac prose version is not based directly upon a Greek MS. but is thought by Nöldeke to have been translated not later than the sixth century from a lost Persian (Pahlavi) redaction of a Ps.-Call. Greek MS. of the type designated as δ .¹

In the sixth century Bishop Jacob of Sarūg (Serūg) († 521) worked up a portion — chiefly the episode of the Spring of Life — of the Syriac prose version into a metrical homily.²

ii. The Ethiopian Translation

The Syriac prose version was again drawn upon and in the ninth century was translated into Arabic. This Arabic redaction has not survived but, with the addition of interpolations from a Greek MS. of the α -tradition, it became the source of an extant Ethiopian translation.³

The relation to this Ethiopian version, or to its lost source, of the Alexander material in the works of the Persian writers Dīnawarī and Firdusī (Firdausī) is still undetermined.⁴

¹ Ausfeld, pp. 8, 17, 20, 21. Text and English translation by E. A. W. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great, being the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes* (Cambridge, Eng., 1899), pp. 255 ff. (text), pp. 144 ff. (transl.); superior German transl. by V. Ryssel, 'Die Syrische Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Callisthenes,' *Herrig's Archiv XC* (1893), 83 ff., 269 ff., 353 ff. Th. Nöldeke, 'Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Alexanderromans,' *Denkschriften d. Kl. akad. d. Wissensch., phil.-hist. Kl.*, XXVIII (Vienna, 1890), Abh. 5, pp. 11 ff., Veselovskii, *Византизмъ и Временник IV* (1897), 537 ff., Sackur, pp. 28 ff., 34 ff.

² Discussed by I. Friedländer, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913), pp. 50-61. Note espec. for MSS, edd., and translations, C. Hunnius, *Das Syrische Alexanderlied*, diss. Göttingen, 1904; *idem* (text and transl.), *Zs. d. Deutsch.-Morgenl. Gesells. LX* (1906), 169 ff., 558 ff., 802 ff.

³ Ausfeld, p. 21 and esp. pp. 23, 24. Text and English transl. by E. A. W. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, being a Series of Translations of the Ethiopic Histories of Alexander by Pseudocallisthenes* (London: Clay, 1896); rev. I. Guidi, *Wiener Zs. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes XI* (1897), 279-287 and discussed by A. Veselovskii, *Византизмъ и Временник IV* (1897), 533 ff. Note further K. F. Weymann, *Die Aethiopische und Arabische Uebersetzung des Pseudocallisthenes*, diss. Heidelberg, 1901; I. Friedländer, *Die Chadhirlegende, cit. supra*, 'Die Aethiopische Alexanderversion,' pp. 217-230; Sackur, pp. 33 ff.

⁴ See Weymann, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.; Ausfeld, p. 21; A. R. Anderson, 'Alexander's Horns,' *Amer. Philol. Ass'n, Trans. LVIII* (1927), 112 ff.

iii. Archpresbyter Leo and the *Historia de Preliis*

About 950 Archpresbyter Leo of Naples undertook at the command of the learned Duke John III of Naples a mission to Constantinople. There, in the course of his sojourn, he came upon a Greek MS. of Ps.-Call. and, transcribing it, brought his copy home, where, in time, Duke John ordered him to translate it into Latin. The circumstances under which this important translation came into being is of such immense interest as an illustration of contemporary Neapolitan letters and Byzantine relations¹ that some of Leo's prefatory words may well be given here:

. . . in eandem Constantinopolitanam urbem coepit inquirere libros ad legendum. Inter quos inuenit historiam continentem certamina et uictorias Alexandri regis Macedoniae. Et nullam neglegentiam uel pigritiam habendo sine mora scripsit et secum usque Neapolim deduxit ad suos predictos excellentissimos seniores [John and Marius of Naples] et ad praeclaram et beatissimam coniugem eius [of John], Theodoram . . . Quae iuuenili aetate cursum uitae finiens infra tricesimum octauum annum migravit ad Dominum. Post cuius transitum praefatus Johannes, excellentissimus consul et dux, uir eius et deo amabilis, statuit mente sua ordinem scripturarum inquirere et praeclare ordinare. Primum uero libros, quos in sua dominatione inuenit, renouauit atque meliores effectus, deinde anxie inquirens sicut philosophus, quoscumque audire uel habere potuit, siue rogando seu precando multos et diuersos libros accumulauit et diligenter scribere iussit. Maxime ecclesiasticos libros, Vetus scilicet atque Nouum Testamentum, funditus renouauit atque composuit. Inter quos historiographiam uidelicet uel chronographiam, Ioseppum uero et Titum Liuium atque Dyonisium, caelestium uirtutum optimum predicatorem, atque ceteros quam plurimos et diuersos doctores, quos enumerare nobis longum esse uidetur, instituit. Eodem namque tempore commemorans ille sagacissimus predictus

¹ Emphasized by Fedor Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter: die Geistigen Grundlagen der Renaissance* (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1926), pp. 140, 141; bibliog., p. 261.

consul et dux prefatum Leonem archipresbiterum habere iam dictum librum, historiam scilicet Alexandri regis, uocauit eum ad se et de Greco in Latinum transferri precepit.¹

Leo's finished work, *Natiuitas et Victoria Alexandri Magni*,² generally (but loosely) known as the *Historia de Preliis*, is the source of one of the most fruitful and conspicuous lines of transmission of Ps.-Call. from East to West and is, as we shall see, the source of numerous Latin and vernacular recensions.³ Leo's original translation is not preserved, but closest to it is the version in the now famous Bamberg *MS. E. III. 14.*, fol. 192v-219v (abbr. *Ba.*).⁴

¹ Pfister, pp. 45, 46; Engl. transl. M. Schlauch *Medieval Narrative* (N. Y.: Prentice-Hall, 1928), pp. 286, 287.

² The title of Leo's translation constitutes one of the minor problems of Alexander scholarship (see Pfister, pp. 8, 9). The title of this work and of its various Latin recensions, *Historia de Preliis*, — a title which first appears in late fifteenth-century prints (see J³-recension, p. 51, n. 3, below), — has the authority of custom; but cf. G. L. Hamilton, *Speculum* II (1927), 113, n. 2. *Historia de Preliis* will be employed hereafter but only as a generic term for Leo's *Natiuitas et Victoria* and derived documents, thus standing for a textual tradition rather than any specific work. Within the * δ -group, Leo's source stands closest to the source of the Syriac version, though possessed of a very considerable number of readings peculiar to itself. See Pfister, pp. 20-24.

³ The best and only good general survey of this subject and one to which all students of the legend must be deeply indebted at every turn is that in Pfister's introduction. For brief orientation and bibliogr. cf. M. Manitius, *Gesch. d. Latein. Lit. des Mittelalters* (Munich: Beck, 1911), I, 529-531 and G. Ehrismann, *Gesch. d. Deutsch. Lit.* II, i, 247, n. 1. On Alexander's journey in a car drawn by griffons in art (Pfister, p. 126, § 5; Zingerle and Hilka, § 115), see R. S. Loomis, 'Alexander the Great's Celestial Journey,' *Burlington Magazine* XXXII (1918), 136-140, 177-185; add Hilka, p. xlii and plate after p. 290, and G. Boffito, 'La Leggenda Aviatoria di Alessandro Magno nella Letteratura e nell' Arte,' *Bibliofilia: Revista di Storia del Libro* XXII (1920), 316-330, XXIII (1921-1922), 22-32, with addit. note by Bertoni, *idem*, pp. 32, 33; also Fr. Panzer, 'Der Romanische Bilderfries am südlichen Choreingang des Freiburger Münsters,' *Freiburger Münsterblätter* I, 2ter Jahrgang (1906), 1-34.6

For the literary history of this motif, see G. Millet, 'L'Ascension d'Alexandre,' *Syria: Revue d'Art Oriental* IV (1923), 85-113 (to be cont., but when?)

⁴ The significance of this version was first pointed out by A. Ausfeld, *Ueber die Quellen zu Rudolf von Ems Alexander*, progr. Donaueschingen, 1883. The text is edited by Fr. Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1913; rev. R. Bitschowsky, *Berlin. Philol. Wochensh.* XXXIV, 1914, 652-654. Pfister's introduction appeared separately as a Habilitationsschrift,

The Descendants of the Bamberg Version

Probably going back to a version of the *Historia de Preliis* very similar to that furnished by the unexpanded *Ba.* and perhaps making some supplementary use of the *Zacher Epitome* (p. 33 above) and of the *Iter ad Paradisum* (p. 29 above), is the greatly abridged Alexander story set forth in *Der Selen Troyst* (first printed Cologne 1474).¹ Closely related to this work are (1) the Low-German *Fabelhafte Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* (prose),² (2) a fourteenth-century Dutch prose version³ (3) an early fourteenth-century Swedish prose version in the Swedish *Själens Trost*,⁴ and (4) the very similar Swedish *De Alexandro Rege*,⁵ itself in all probability a

Heidelberg: Winter, 1912 under the title, *Untersuchungen zum Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*. On the language of Leo, see Pfister, 'Bemerkungen zur Sprache des Archipresbyters Leo,' *Wochenschr. f. Klass. Philol.* XXXII (1915), 328-336, 832-838. Engl. transl. of Books i and iii of Leo's work by M. Schlauch, *loc. cit. supra*, note 1. On *Ba.* see Pfister's, pp. 5-8.

¹ Studied by H. Fuchs, *Beiträge zur Alexandersage: 1. Alexander im 'Seelen-Trost'*, progr. Giessen, 1907, bibliog. *passim* — esp. pp. 10-12 for MSS and early prints; see also Pfister, pp. 29, 30; literature in Ehrismann, *op. cit.*, II, i, 249, n. 1.

² Published by P. J. Bruns in *Romantische und andere Gedichte in Altplattdeutscher Sprache* (Berlin and Stettin, 1798), pp. 337-366 from MS. *Wolfenbüttel 1311* (paper, *saec. xv*, fol. 47-71v); on prologue reprinted by I. Gollancz, *Parlement of the Three Ages* (Select Early English Poems II, Oxford, 1915), Appendix XV, see R. S. Loomis, *Modern Philol.* XV (1917), 219; see Pfister, p. 30, n. 3, for literature.

³ Ed. as 'Tekst I' by S. Hoogstra, *Proza-Bewerkingen van het Leven van Alexander den Groote* ('s-Gravenhage, 1898), pp. 1-37; for MSS, see Introduction, pp. xxvi-vii. Very important as a correction to Hoogstra's discussion of the sources is Pfister, p. 30, n. 4.

⁴ Ed. G. E. Klemming, *Svensk Fornskr.-Sällsk.*, Stockholm, 1871-1873, pp. 510-532; cf. pp. vi, vii for bibliog. and brief discussion of *Seelentrost* literature. The spelling '*Annectanabus*' for the name of the enchanter-father of Alexander suggests the influence of the J³-recension of the *Historia de Preliis* (see p. 43, n. 1, below).

⁵ In Copenhagen MS., *Arnamagn.* 191, fol. 49-58 (paper, 1492 A.D.); see *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling* (Copenhagen, 1889-94), I, 158, 159. First noted by R. Nyerup, *Skandinavisk Museum I* (1798), 272 and further in *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder* (Copenhagen, 1816), pp. 50, 51, where he suggested the early printed *Liber Alexandri de Preliis* (J³; see pp. 51 ff. below) as the source. The text (Parts II and III) was printed by J. E. Rietz, *Fabula Alexandri Magni Suecana*,

translation of the Low-German *Fabelhafte Geschichte* just mentioned.¹

About 1100 *Ba.* was drawn upon by Abbot Ekkehard von Aura a. d. Saale (near Bad-Kissingen) in his *Excerptum de Vita Alexandri Magni*.² Apparently derived from *Ba.* is a lost Bavarian recension (*B. R.*) which was the source of two important early MSS, *Cod. Monac. Lat. 23489 (M)* and *Bibl. Natl. (Paris) MS. Nouv. Acquis. Lat. 310 (P)*; in *P* supplementary use is made of Julius Valerius and Orosius.³ In the late fifteenth century *P* was translated by Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch der Geschicht des Grossen Allexanders*, a work that enjoyed considerable popularity⁴ and of which a detached portion exists in Heidelberg MS. (*cod. germ. 172*), *König Dindimus Buech*.⁵ In the sixteenth century Hartlieb's work became the main source

Lund, 1850 (Part I in E. S. Bring, *Historia Caroli Magni Suecana*, Lund, 1847). G. E. Klemming, *op. cit.*, (p. 60, n. 2, below), p. 362, n. 7, and H. Linnström, *Svenskt Boklexikon* II (Stockholm, 1884), 306 (*sub* Rietz), are misleading in deriving this and the *Fabelhafte Geschichte* from the *Zacher Epitome*.

¹ So noted by Klemming, *loc. cit.* As long since pointed out by Nyerup (*Almindelig Morskabslasning*, p. 51, note), the conclusion of *De Alexandro Rege* and, I may add, of the *Fabelhafte Geschichte* is based upon the *De Sepultura Alexandri*, taken either from the *Historia de Preliis* (J³) or, more likely, from Petrus Alfonsi direct; cf. Fr. Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 271, n. 2.

² Ausfeld, p. 23, n. 1 and Pfister, pp. 13, 14 and fn. 1; see also A. Potthast, *Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des Europäischen Mittelalters* (2d ed., Berlin, 1896), I, 400, 401.

³ Pfister, pp. 9-14. For a description of the text of *P* and *M*, see Pfister, *Rivista di Filol. Classica* XLII (1914), 104-113. See Gröber's *Grundriss* II, i, 817, 818.

⁴ Publ. Augsburg, 1472 and many times; see J. G. Th. Graesse, *Trésor de Livres Rares* I, 70b-71a and *Gesamtkatalog d. Wiegendrucke* I (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1925), col. 445-449, items 883a-889; recently ed. by R. Benz in 'Deutsche Volksbücher,' Jena: Diederichs, 1924; see *ed. cit.*, p. 358 for prints and MSS used. See H. Paul, *Grundriss d. German. Philol.* (2d ed., 1901-09), II, i, 343, 344. Studied by S. Hirsch, 'Das Alexanderbuch Johann Hartliebs,' *Palaestra* LXXXII (1909) (rev. *Deutsch. Lit. Zeitung*. 1910, No. 13, p. 802) and H. Poppen, *Das Alexander-Buch Johann Hartliebs und seine Quellen*, diss. Heidelberg, 1914. See E. Travník, 'Ueber eine Raaber Hs. des Hartliebschen Alexanderbuches,' *Münchener Museum* II (1913-14), 211-221.

⁵ Noticed first by H. Becker, *Zs. f. Deutsch. Philol.* XXIII (1890), 424, 425. On the significance and popularity of this portion (*Collatio Alexandri*, etc.) of the *Historia de Preliis*, see pp. 46, 47 below.

of a tragedy (1558) by Hans Sachs¹ and was translated into Danish by Peder Pedersen Galthen in 1584 as *Eenn Historie om den Stoer, Megtige Förstis, Keyser Alexandri . . . Nu först aff Tydsken udsaat . . . Anno MDLXXXIII*.²

The Indian Tractates³

The Bamberg MS. stands unique among the early forms of the *Historia de Preliis* complex in having appended to it four short treatises or tractates which deal primarily with Indian life and the Christianization of India. These tractates are as follows:⁴

i. The *Commonitorium Palladii*

The *Commonitorium Palladii* exists in four distinct forms, two in Greek and two in Latin. (i) In the Greek Ps.-Call. this document appears in Müller's edition as an interpolation (= iii, 7-16) of which only ch. 7-10 can be attributed to Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis (ca. 363-ca. 430);⁵ (ii) under the title Παλλαδίου περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἔθνων καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων

¹ Hirsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134; see also O. Weinreich, *Der Trug des Nektanebos* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911), pp. 62-64 (Nektanebus episode).

² Preserved in unique and unpublished Copenhagen MS., *Arnemagn. 190a, fol.*; see *Katalog over den Arnemagnæanske Håndskriftsamling I*, 156, 157 and O. Walde, *Storhetidens Litterära Krigsbyten* (Upsala, [1916]), II, 431. A selection, Alexander's journey through the air (= Hartlieb, *ed. cit.*, pp. 317-319), is printed in R. Nyerup's *Almindelig Morskabslæsning*, pp. 49, 50; *ibid.*, pp. 47, 48 for biographical details.

³ Under this heading are grouped several documents of diverse character and origin; these have, however, one feature in common, namely, that they concern India. These are found, as will appear below, in various forms, both as isolated works or attached to various redactions of the Alexander legend.

⁴ Ed. Fr. Pfister, *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman . . . nach der Bamberger Handschrift*, Winter: Heidelberg, 1910.

⁵ Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-120. See Ausfeld, p. 89, note to ch. 17. See O. Zöchler in A. Hauk's *Realencyclopädie f. Protest. Theologie u. Kirche* (3d ed., Leipzig, 1904), XIV, 609 ff., esp. 612 for further information on Palladius and on the authenticity of the *Commonitorium*; also W. von Christ, *Gesch. d. Griech. Lit. (ed. cit.)* II, i, 1395 (§ 1021); W. Kroll, *Pauly-Wissowa XX* (1919), 1720-1721; Fr. Pfister, *Münchener Museum I* (1912), 254, n. 2, for important addenda to literature on *Commonitorium*.

(= Ps.-Call. iii, 7-10) the same is found in MSS independent of the romance,¹ and also exists in an epitomized form.² This Greek work was rendered twice into Latin: (iii) first in the form found in *Ba.*,³ and (iv) again and independently of (iii) in a version traditionally associated with the name of St Ambrose, the *De Moribus Brachmanorum*.⁴

ii. *Dindimus on the Brahmins*

The second tractate in question corresponds to Müller's Ps.-Call. iii, 11-12, sometimes erroneously attributed to Palladius.⁵ In tone it reflects a late survival of the Cynic attitude toward Alexander⁶ and in content presents an unfavorable comparison of the Macedonians with the Indians. Besides the text in *Ba.*,⁷ there exists a second Latin version, *Anonymus de Brachmanibus*.⁸

¹ Published first by Joachim Camerarius, Sr, *Libellus Gnomologicus*, Leipzig, 1571, and independently later by Sir Edward Bysshe (1679) (Bissaeus Παλλαδίου περί τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας Ἐθνῶν . . . *Palladius de Gentibus Indiae . . . nunc primum [sic] in lucem protulit ex Bibliotheca Regia*, London, 1665 — reprinted 1668. See Fr. Pfister, *Kleine Texte*, p. vii, n. 6, and P. R. Coleman-Norton, 'The Authorship of the *Epistola de Indicis Gentibus et de Bragmanibus*,' *Classical Philol.* XXI (1926), 154-160. Note L. Früchtel, *Παλλαδίου . . . Textkritische und Literaturhistorische Untersuchung*, diss. Erlangen, 1920.

² Noted by Pfister, *Kleine Texte*, p. viii, n. 7, with reference to notices and edition of one MS.

³ Ed. Pfister, *Kleine Texte*, pp. 1-5; see introd., pp. viii-ix. An excerpt from this text found in the fifteenth-century Darmstadt MS. 231 (see p. 52 below) is noted by Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 254 and note 2 (important for supplementary literature). E. Faral, *Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes et Romans Courtois du Moy. Age* (Paris: Champion, 1913, pp. 89, 90) notes the influence of the *Communitorium* on the *Roman d'Enéas*.

⁴ Ed. Bysshe, *op. cit.*, as the second item; a better edition by J. Bernhardt, *Analecta in Geographos Graecorum Minores* (progr. Halle, 1850), pp. 43-47. See H. Becker, *Die Brahmanen in der Alexandersage* (progr. Königsberg, 1889), pp. 11-23.

⁵ See p. 44, n. 5, above.

⁶ W. Hoffmann, *Das Literar. Porträt Alexanders des Grossen im Griech. u. Röm. Altertum* (Leipzig. Histor. Abh. VIII, Leipzig, 1907), pp. 11, 12.

⁷ Ed. Fr. Pfister, *Kleine Texte*, pp. 6-9; introd., p. ix.

⁸ Publ. Bysshe, *op. cit.*, as third item.

iii. *Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo per Litteras facta*

The *Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo per Litteras facta* consists of five letters exchanged between Alexander and Dindimus, three from Alexander, two from Dindimus: Alexander begins and ends the correspondence. The *Collatio* exists in three forms, based ultimately upon the (same?) lost Latin original, in turn a translation of a lost Greek original:¹ *Collatio I*, the oldest;² *Collatio II*, a less rhetorical version found only in *Ba.*,³ in turn the source of what I venture to designate as *Collatio III*, a fuller and more elaborate form of *Collatio II*, especially important for its use in the so-called J-recensions of the *Historia de Preliis*.⁴ Of general interest and as testimony of knowledge of this phase of the Alexander legend in late eighth-century England is the fact that Alcuin of York († 804) communicated some form of the *Collatio* to Charlemagne.⁵ The popularity of this correspondence is witnessed by its occurrence outside of the Alexander romances. We have already (p. 43 above) remarked on this material in Hartlieb, *König Dindimus Buech*. A Middle-Irish version of the *Collatio* likewise exists detached from an Irish life of Alexander based largely on Orosius and Justin with supplementary

¹ Fr. Pfister, *Kleine Texte*, p. ix; more recently discussed by J. Makowsky, *De Collatione Alexandri Magni et Dindimi*, Breslau diss., 1919; see Fr. Pfister, *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* XLI (1921), 569-575, 'Die Brahmanen in der Alexander-sage,' for the view that *Collatio I* and *Collatio II* both derive from a common Latin original and are not independent translations of a lost Greek MS. Note additionally A. N. Veselovskii, *Из Истории Романа и Повести I*, 281 ff.

² Ed. B. Kübler, *Iulii Valerii Alexandri Polemi Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1888), pp. 169-189, see Kübler's preface, pp. xxvi-xxviii.

³ Twice edited: (1) B. Kübler, *Roman. Forschungen VI* (1888-91), 216 ff.; (2) by Fr. Pfister, *Kleine Texte*, pp. 10-20.

⁴ The text varies with the MSS and recensions; for examples see Z., pp. 220-236 (J¹-recension); Hilka, pp. 187-200; *Cod. Monac. Lat. 824* (J²), see pp. 176 ff. below; for the abbreviated early prints of the J³-recension, see p. 51, n. 3, below.

⁵ First (?) noted by B. Kübler, *Iulii Valerii . . . Res Gestae (cit. supra)*, p. xxvii; M. Manitius, *Gesch. d. Latein. Lit. des Mittelalters* (Munich: Beck, 1911), I, 280, and *Cambridge Mediaeval History III* (1922), 576.

use of the *Epistola* and the *Collatio*.¹ A portion was used by Gower,² also by Jean d'Outremeuse for his *Mandeville*.³ Furthermore, the *Collatio* was apparently known to the author, possibly Thomas Randolph, of *The Drinking Academy* (ca. 1626),⁴ and later we find it restored to its original didactic use in a curious tractate, *The Upright Lives of the Heathen briefly noted: or, Epistles and Discourses between Alexander the Great and Dindimus* . . . pub. Andrew Soule: London, [1683].⁵ The Alexander-Dindimus correspondence in Latin form appears, for example, in Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 289, fol. 113r-114v⁶ and in *Corpus Christi College MS. 219*, fol. 64 ff.⁷ where the correspondence appears as an appendix to the *Compilation of St Albans*. References of this sort can no doubt be easily multiplied.

iv. *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*

In the Greek Ps.-Call. iii, 17, there is preserved the scanty remains of a once more complete letter from Alexander to his master Aristotle.⁸ The original character of this document we

¹ I refer to the Middle-Irish *Collatio* in Bodl. MS. Rawlinson B. 512, transcribed by K. Meyer in *Anecdota from Irish MSS* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1913), V, 1-8; see also version ed. with notes (inadequate) and German transl. by K. Meyer, in W. Stokes-E. Windisch, *Irish Texts* (Leipzig, 1887), II, ii, 1-108. For discussion, see H. Becker, 'Zur Alexandersage,' *Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstage Otto Schade dargebracht* (Königsberg, 1906), pp. 21, 22.

² *Conf. Amant.* v, 1453-1496 (= *Al. B* 653 ff.), presumably from the source suggested p. 58 below; see Pfister, *German.-Roman. Monatschr.* XVI (1928), 85 (bottom).

³ For convenience I refer to P. Hamelius, *Mandeville's Travels, translated from the French of Jean d'Outremeuse* (E.E.T.S., Orig. Ser., 153, 154), I, 194 ff.; cf. *idem*, II, 20 and notes *passim* for other Alexander material.

⁴ See *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n* XLII (1927), 670-672; XLIII (1928), 800-809.

⁵ Pp. 1-8 constitute a condensed version of the *Collatio*.

⁶ See E. L. J. Scott, *Index to the Sloane MSS in the British Museum*, p. 10.

⁷ See M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in Corpus Christi College* (Cambridge, 1912), I, 517.

⁸ On the rôle of Aristotle in the Alexander legend as a whole, see *Gesammelte Abhandlungen von Wilh. Hertz*, ed. F. von der Leyen (Stuttgart, 1905), pp. 1-155; also Fr. Moth, *Aristotelessagnet eller Elskovs Magt: et Bidrag til Sammenlignende*

may infer, however, from an exceedingly widespread Latin text, *Epistola Alexandri Macedonis ad Aristotelem magistrum suum de itinere suo et de situ Indiae* often found independent of, and isolated from, the romance proper: it may be conveniently designated *Epistola I*.¹ *Epistola I* was translated into Old English at least as early as 1000,² later into Middle Irish,³ by the fourteenth century into Icelandic,⁴ into French probably in the fifteenth,⁵ and into German early in the seven-

Novelleforskning (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1916), mainly on the *Lai d'Aristote*. On the letter in Ps-Call., see Ausfeld, pp. 89-96, and p. 179 ff.

¹ Ed. B. Kübler, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-221. See Fr. Pfister, *Kleine Texte*, pp. ix, x and *ibid.*, *Der Alexanderroman d. Archipresbyters Leo*, p. 107, note to chap. 17. Pfister's text (pp. 21-37) is the 'Aeltere (erste) Rezension.' For important lists of early prints and MSS, see Dr Stanley Rypins, *Three Old English Prose Texts* . . . E.E.T.S., No. 161, 1924 (for 1921), pp. xxxiv-vi and 77, 78; Dr Rypins prints a Latin text (pp. 79-100) which differs in detail from those of Kübler and Pfister. For an essay at a critical text, see A. Hilka, *Zur Alexandersage: zur Textkritik von Alexanders Brief an Aristoteles über die Wunder Indiens*, Breslau prog., 1908. For a paraphrase of a portion of this letter in the *Polychronicon* by Ralph Higden († 1364), see G. L. Hamilton, *Mélanges de Philol. et d'Histoire offerts à M. Antoine Thomas* (Paris: Champion, 1927), p. 199, n. 1.

² OE. English text ed. Rypins, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-50; see Rypins' introduction, pp. xxxvii ff. for discussion of the OE. text, sources, and date; on MS. see M. Förster, 'Die Beowulf-Handschrift,' *Berichte über die Verhandlungen d. Sächsisch. Akad.* LXXI (1919), Nr 4, pp. 80, 81 with facs. of fol. 110r at end of article. In the *Advancement of Learning* (1604), Bk. I, § 11, Bacon refers to and quotes from Alexander's 'letter to Aristotle,' but this (see ed. A. S. Cook, Boston, 1904, p. 131) is from Plutarch's life and is not related to the document here under discussion. Rypins reviewed in *Angl. Bbl.* XXXVIII (1927), 48-52, *Mod. Lang. Notes* XLII (1927), 67-70, and *German.-Roman. Monatschr.* XVI (1928), 82 ff. (Pfister); cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes* XXXVIII (1923), 216-220 (language).

On the possible influence of the Latin *Epistola* upon Chaucer, see G. L. Kitzredge, 'The Pillars of Hercules and Chaucer's "Trophee,"' *Putnam Anniversary Volume* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), pp. 559 ff.

³ Irish texts (fourteenth-century MSS) ed. K. Meyer in W. Stokes and E. Windisch, *Irische Texte* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1887), II, ii, 43-69 and 100-107.

⁴ Text from one MS. published by C. R. Unger as an appendix to his *Alexanders Saga* (ed. *cit.*, p. 22, n. 1, above), pp. 164-175; see also *ibid.*, introduction, p. xiii and p. 186 (note to p. 162). For other Icelandic MSS, see *Katalog over den Arnarnagnaanske Håndskriftsamling* II, 401, 527.

⁵ MS. cited Meyer, II, 302, 303, where it is subjoined to the French version of the *Zacher Epitome* noted p. 33, n. 2, above.

teenth by Gabriel Rollenhagen.¹ The *Epistola* was also used in the Letter of Prester John.²

Of *Epistola I* there is a revised and abbreviated version, known as *Epistola II* found only in *Ba.*, where it is incorporated in Leo's *Nativitas et Victoria*.³

De Rebus in Oriente Mirabilibus

Closely allied in type, and to a certain extent in substance, to the *Epistola* is a tract *De Rebus in Oriente Mirabilibus*,⁴ of which there are two related Old-English translations known as the *Wonders of the East*;⁵ in the Middle Ages the *De Rebus* sometimes passed as the *Epistola*.⁶

¹ As the first book of his *Vier Bücher Wunderbarlicher biss daher Unerhörter und Ungleublicher Indianischer Reysen* . . . 1st ed., Magdenburg, 1603. For frequent later prints, see K. T. Gaedertz, *Gabriel Rollenhagen: Sein Leben u. Seine Werke* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 103 ff.

For an Italian translation of the *Epistola*, see G. Grion, *I Nobili Fatti di Alessandro Magno* (Bologna, 1872), p. 237 ff.; for influence on Dante, *Inf.* xiv, 31 ff., see *ibid.*, pp. cl, cli.

² See V. M. Istrin, 'Сказание об Индейском Царстве,' *Древности: Труды Славянской Коммиссии Импер. Москов. Археологич. Общества* I (1895), 6.

³ Ed. separately Fr. Pfister, *Kleine Texte*, pp. 38-41 and in its context, *idem*, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*, pp. 107, l. 15-112, l. 14. That *Epistola II* is merely an abridged rifacimento of *Epistola I* has been demonstrated by Fr. Pfister in 'Was heisst cliba, clibula?', *Wochenschr. f. Klass. Philol.* XXX (1913), 1133, 1134, and restated XXXII (1915), 329; further by F. Müller, *ibid.*, 'De Epistula Alexandri ad Aristotelem Obseruatiunculae, *Mnemosyne* LIII (1925), 268-272 (esp. p. 272). Formerly these were believed to represent independent translations from the same (lost) original: Pfister, *Kleine Texte*, p. ix and in *Wochenschr. f. Klass. Philol.* XXVIII (1911), 812, 813.

⁴ Most recently ed. S. Rypins, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-107; see pp. xlv-xlv, p. 78 for literature and discussion. For suggested source in the Epistle to the Emperor Hadrian, see E. Faral, 'Une Source Latine de l'Histoire d'Alexandre: la Lettre sur les Merveilles de l'Inde,' *Romania* XLIII (1914), 199 ff., 353 ff.; valuable discussion of the Latin texts by Fr. Pfister, *Germanisch-Roman. Monatschr.* XVI (1928), 82, 83.

⁵ The OE. text from MS. *Cott. Vitell. A. XV*, ed. S. Rypins, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-67. For other edd. and literature, *idem*, pp. xlv-vii, and esp. Förster, *art. cit. supra*, pp. 79, 80.

⁶ Pfister, *art. cit.*, p. 83 ('als Alexanderbrief umlief').

The J-Recensions of the *Historia de Preliis*

It has already been observed (p. 43 above) that Leo's translation of a *δ-MS. of Ps.-Call. was early elaborated and altered by the scribes of MSS *Ba.*, *P.*, and *M.* While these recensions became, as we have seen, the source of but few later works, there are three interpolated recensions of Leo's *Natiuitas et Victoria*, designated J¹, J², and J³, which both in the original Latin and in translation enjoyed a far greater popularity.

1. The J¹-Recension

The J¹-recension represents Leo's original in which some later redactor incorporated inconsiderable extracts from Josephus, St Jerome, Orosius, Solinus, St Isidore, a version of the *Liber Monstrorum*, the first three Indian tractates, and *Epistola I*:¹ of all of the supplementary sources only the *Collatio* (i. e. *Collatio III*) was at all extensively used.² Among the vernacular writers, J¹, the earliest of the J-recensions, was drawn upon as a secondary source by Albéric (whence Pfaffe Lamprecht), later by Rudolf von Ems, the *Roman*,³ and by Cardinal Jacques de Vitry (Jacobus de Vitriaco) in his *Historia Orientalis* (before 1226).⁴ This relatively limited use of

¹ The Latin text of J¹ is printed by Z., pp. 129-265; for the sources *idem*, pp. 18 ff. (in footnotes) and Pfister, *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* XXXII (1912), 1129-1133. Cf. Pfister, pp. 15, 16. To the two MSS utilized by Z., add MS. and early print first cited by Hilka, p. xx.

² See p. 46, n. 4, above.

³ Albéric (and Pfaffe Lamprecht) drew mainly on Julius Valerius (p. 26 above), likewise the *Roman* which followed the same tradition (pp. 27, 28 above), as well as Rudolf von Ems' *Alexander* (p. 22, n. 1, above and p. 57, n. 4, below).

⁴ Latin text ed. J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos siue Orientalium Expeditionum . . . Historia* (Hannover, 1611); English transl. by A. Stewart in Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc. No. 30, London, 1896; French translation of the same by F. P. G. Guizot, *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France* (Paris, 1825), Vol. XXII. Bongars' text (from which Stewart translates) bears the title *Historia Hierosolymitana Abbreviata*, and for Book I it is for all practical purposes identical with the so-called *Historia Orientalis* (or *Hierosolymitana*). See A. Potthast, *Wegweiser* (2d ed.), I, 634 for MSS, prints, and edd. On the

the Latin J¹-recension (witness, too, the paucity of MSS) may be explained by the fact that it was early eclipsed by two independent revisions of itself; the first of these is known as J², the second as J³.

2. The J³-Recension¹

The J³-recension, as yet inedited, is a systematic reworking of J¹, both stylistically and materially, with the inclusion of a few verses, probably made some years prior to 1150, by which time it would appear to have undergone a further reworking (J^{3a}).² It is represented in a considerable number of MSS and early prints;³ the latter represent in the main a dry and tasteless abridgment of the MS. versions. From the J³-recension were made one Latin and a number of vernacular redactions.

obligation of Jacques de Vitry to the J¹-recension of the *Historia de Preliis*, see Pfister, p. 38 and for important additional literature, G. L. Hamilton, *Speculum* II (1927), 127, n. 4. I am indebted to Mr Dana Carleton Munro of Princeton University for a positive statement (vs. Potthast, *loc. cit.*) as to the identity of Book I of the *Historia Orientalis* with Book I of the *Historia Abbreviata*.

¹ I leave J², the source of *Al. A* and *Al. B*, to the last; since J³ and J² are quite independent of one another, an insistence upon a numerical sequence would be doctrinaire in the face of the practical advantage of the present arrangement which leads up to a study of the ME. J²-fragments, *Al. A* and *Al. B*.

² For the approximate date here given, see G. L. Hamilton, 'A New Redaction (J^{3a}) of the *Historia de Preliis* and the Date of Redaction J³,' *Speculum* II (1927), 113 ff. The characteristics of the J³-MSS have been very fully and authoritatively discussed by Fr. Pfister, 'Die Historia de Preliis und das Alexanderpos des Quilichinus,' *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 249-301. First treated by A. Ausfeld, 'Die Orosius-Recension der Historia de Preliis und Babiloth's Alexanderchronik,' *Festschrift der Badischen Gymnasien* (Karlsruhe, 1886), pp. 114, 117.

³ Listed by Pfister, *art. cit.*, pp. 252, 253, and 301 (korrekturnachtrag); to the MSS add Glasgow MS. cited by G. L. Hamilton, *Speculum* II (1927), 114, n. 9, and Harvard MS. Lat. 34 analyzed by the present writer in *Harvard Library Notes*, April 1928, pp. 172-175. The Strassburg prints mentioned by Pfister (*loc. cit.*) are further described by K. Kinzel, *Lamprecht's Alexander* (cit. p. 26, n. 3, above), Introduction, pp. xx, xxi; at the foot of pp. 3 ff. Kinzel reprints Strassburg 1489, but his MS. variants are of little use. Hamilton, *art. cit.*, p. 118, n. 2, classifies as J³ a Grenoble print and notes that the Utrecht prints, discussed by Pfister and Kinzel, are not J³, but J² (see p. 57, n. 3, below). Skeat reprints corresponding portions from Strassburg 1490 at the foot of the pages of his edition of *Al. B*. The early prints of J³ are of further interest on two counts: first, we here first

i. The *Alexandreis* of Quilichinus of Spoleto

In 1236 a certain Quilichinus of Spoleto¹ composed a Latin poem in distichs, *Alexandreis*, based upon J³,² which became in turn the source of a late fourteenth-century Allemanian poem, the so-called *Wernigerode Alexander*.³

The *Darmstadt Alexander*

In the *Gesta Alexandri Magni*, preserved in MS. *Darmstadt* 231 (*saec. xv*) and known as the *Darmstadt Alexander*, we have a J³-text into which has been woven portions of Quilichinus' poem.⁴

encounter the title *Historia de Preliis* (see p. 41, n. 2, above); secondly, it was through these prints that modern scholars first attempted to study the *Historia de Preliis* complex. This last had the unfortunate effect of long obscuring any understanding of the various J-recensions in their relations to one another; see Pfister, *art. cit.*, pp. 284, 285 or *idem*, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*, p. 39. For a detailed description of these incunabula, see *Gesamtkatalog d. Wiegendrucke*, Vol. I (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1925), col. 440 ff. *passim*. Recently the Strassburg incunabulum of 1494 has been conveniently reprinted by M. Z. P. Kryński in *Prace Filologiczne* (Warsaw), Vol. IX (1920) at the bottom of pp. 23-548; see 'Sprostowania' in *op. cit.*, p. iv, at end.

¹ That is, the Wilkinus de Spolète of Meyer, II, 40, 394, 395.

² As yet inedited. Fully discussed with selected passages (characteristic of J³) and rich literature by Fr. Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), esp. 285-301 (rev. Hilka, *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* XXXVI, 1916, 77-81); see additional bio-bibliographical notes by P. Lehmann, 'Quilichinus von Spoleto,' *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* XXXVIII (1918), 812-815; also G. Boffito, *Bibliofilia* XX (1920), 324, 325.

³ This relationship was first established by E. Neuling, 'Die Deutsche Bearbeitung d. *Alexandreis* d. Quilichinus,' *P.B.B.* X (1884-1885), 315-383; ed. with textual introduction by G. Guth, *Der Grosser Alexander aus d. Wernigeroder Hs.* (Deutsche Texte d. Mittelalters, Bd XIII), Berlin, 1908; cf. Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 286 ff.; Paul's *Grundriss* (2d ed.), II, i, 291.

⁴ Discovered and described by Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 253, 254.

For a note (rather in need of revision) in which it is suggested that Boiardo may have drawn upon Quilichinus, see *Mod. Lang. Notes* XV (1900), 89-95.

Here also should perhaps be noted the Italian poem *Alexandreida in Rime cavata dal Latino* (Venice, 1521) by Jacopo di Carlo who may have drawn upon Quilichinus — suggested tentatively by Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 285, n. 1; see also G. Grion, *I Nobili Fatti di Alessandro Magno* (Bologna, 1872), pp. clxiv ff. See J. G. Th. Graesse, *Trésor de Livres Rares* I, 70b, for this and other sixteenth-century Italian poems on Alexander; also Boffito, *art. cit.*, pp. 327-329 (see p. 41, n. 3, above).

ii. Three Italian Prose Versions

The Latin J³ prose was translated no less than three times into Italian: (1) a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century translation, of which seven fragments are preserved;¹ (2) a version preserved in a Florentine MS. independent of (1);² and (3) a version, distinct from (1) and (2) and frequently printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³

iii. *Kronika o Alexandru Velikém*

The preservation of a closely executed Czech prose translation of the J³-recension in four fifteenth-century manuscripts bears witness to the popularity of the *Historia de Preliis* in Bohemia in the later Middle Ages;⁴ apparently, from the Neuberg MS.⁵ was taken the text for the rare *Kniha o Wssech Skutzjeh Welikeho Alexandra Macedonskeho*, printed by M. Bakalář, Pilsen, 1513.⁶

¹ First noted by Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I, (1912), 284, 285 and since published with J³ Latin text parallel by Hilka, 'Die Berliner Bruchstücke d. Aeltest. Italien. Historia de Preliis,' *Zs. f. Roman Philol.* XLI (1921), 234-253. These should not be confused with Italian J²-versions discussed pp. 60, 61 below.

² Noted by Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 285.

³ For editions, see Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 284, 285 and *Gesamtkatalog d. Wiegendrucke*, loc. cit. supra, items 880-883.

⁴ Ed. with modernized spellings from the Náchod MS. with variants from the two Prague University Library MSS by F. X. Prusík, 'Kronika o Alexandru Velikém,' *Krok: Časopis Věnovaný Veškerým Potřebám Středního Školstva*, Vols. VIII (1894), IX (1895), X (1896), XI (1897), passim. An extract from Prague University MS. XVII. H. 4 has been published by K. J. Erben in *Výbor z Literatury České* (Prague, 1868) II, cols. 530-543; this corresponds to Prusík's text in *Krok* IX (1895), 121-124, 165-169, 201-205, 241, 242 (to end of chap. lxx); J. Jakubec, *Dějiny Lit. České* (2d ed., Prague, 1928), 287 ff.

On the J³ Latin source, see F. P. Magoun, jr, and S. H. Thomson, 'Kronika o Alexandru Velikém: a Czech Prose Translation of the *Historia de Preliis* (J³-Recension),' *Speculum* III (1928), 204-217.

⁵ According to *Výbor*, loc. cit., col. 529, 530 (introductory note). For an unclassified printed Czech text, see p. 62 below.

⁶ Briefly described in J. A. Hanslik, *Gesch. u. Beschreibung d. Prager Universitätsbibliothek* (Prague, 1851), p. 537.

iv. Polish Versions

About 1510 a very literal translation of the text of one of the Strassburg incunabula was made into Polish by an unknown writer; the manuscript, Zamojskii Library (Warsaw) *MS. Cim. 79*, bears the title *Hystorja Aleksandra Wielkiego, Króla Macedońskiego, o Walkach*.¹

Apparently also based upon a J³-incunabulum is a series of early printed editions; the first was published in Cracow in 1550 under the title *Historya o Zywoćie i Známienitich Spráwach Alexandra, Króla Macedońskiego*;¹ then follow eight editions between 1611 and 1766.²

v. Haller's Magyar Version

In 1682, while prisoner in the fortress of Fogaras, John Haller of Hallerkő prepared a Magyar translation of the text of a 1494 J³ incunabulum³ as the first part of his *Hármas Istoria* ('Tripartite History'), first published at Kolozsvár in 1695.⁴

¹ Discussed by A. Brückner, *Prace Filologiczne V* (1895), 359-368 and diplomatically ed. with Latin text of Strassburg 1494 parallel by M. Z. P. Kryński, *Prace Filolog.*, Vol. IX (1920), pp. 548 + iv.

² Listed and described by K. Estreicher, *Bibliografja Polska: Stólecie XV-XVIII*, Vol. XVIII (1901), 210-212. Mr J. Krzyżanowski (Lublin University, Poland) is, I am informed, at present engaged in an investigation of these Polish texts.

³ So according to Lajos Katona, *Gesta Romanorum fordította Haller János* ('Régi Magyar Könyvtár,' No. XVIII, Budapest, 1900), p. 6; notice in *Zs. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde XIII* (1903), 348.

⁴ Editions of this popular work appeared in 1751, 1757, 1765, 1767, 1795, 1865 (in Debrecen). The following special studies may be noted: J. Váczy, *Haller János és Hármas Istoriája* [John Haller and his Tripartite History], (Budapest, 1885); Sámuel Saskó, 'Haller János Nyelve' [the Language of John Haller], *Szarvasi Ev. Főgimnasium Ertesítője* (Szarvas, 1904); M. Kohányi, 'A Nagy Sándor Monda Magyar Fordítása' [The Magyar Translation of the Legend of Alexander the Great], *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny XXXVI* (1912), 28-34; G. Király, 'Világbiró Sándor Mondája Régi Irodalmunkban' [The Legend of Alexander, the World-Conqueror, in our Old Literature], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények XXXII* (1918), 129-142, 241-253.

vi. Russian Version

In a late seventeenth-century Moscow manuscript, Lenin Library (formerly Rumiantsev Museum) *MS. 2405*, fol. 395r-468v,¹ is a Russian translation of a Polish version of the *Historia de Preliis*.² This translation, incorporated in the South-Russian Chronograph, exhibits the characteristic J³-interpolations.³

vi. Meister Babiloth's *Alexanderchronik*

Mention may be finally made of a German prose work (printed 1472), the *Alexanderchronik* of Meister Babiloth; of mixed origin, the first and by far the larger portion is based on the J²-recension, the conclusion, however, belongs to the J³-tradition.⁴

3. The J^{3a}-Recension

Shortly before 1150 the Latin J³-recension underwent, probably in England, further elaboration by additions from the J²-recension⁵ and the *Res Gestae* of Julius Valerius.⁶ No Latin MS. of this postulated recension, conveniently designated J^{3a}, has been discovered, but its existence is rendered likely and its general character ascertainable by certain striking features common to three works thought to have been drawn upon or

¹ MS. described by A. Попов, *Обзор Хронографов Русской Редакции* (Moscow, 1866-1869), II, 280-286.

² Noted by V. M. Istrin, *Александрия Русских Хронографов*, p. 313, where it is incorrectly described as a transliteration into Cyrillic letters of a Polish text.

³ A study of this text will appear in an early issue of *Archiv f. Slav. Philol.*

⁴ Partially ed. S. Herzog, *Die Alexanderchronik des Meister Babiloth*, progr., Stuttgart: Liebich, 1897 (text, pp. 31-60), and continued *do.*, 1903. On sources and literature, see introduction to the same. The sources were first established by A. Ausfeld in his epochal essay, 'Die Orosius-Recension der Historia Alexandri Magni de Preliis und Babiloths Alexanderchronik,' *Festschr. d. Badisch. Gymnasien* (Karlsruhe, 1886), esp. pp. 114 ff., 117 ff. For brief descriptive notice, see Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 284 and n. 1.

⁵ See pp. 56 ff. below.

⁶ See pp. 25 ff. above.

translated from it.¹ Thus, besides the Anglo-Latin romance, *Gesta Herewardi*, composed ca. 1150 and apparently drawing upon recension J^{3a} for parts of the description of the hero and one or two episodes,² we have the *Wars of Alexander* and the *Thornton Prose Life of Alexander*.

i. The *Wars of Alexander*

The *Wars of Alexander* is an early fifteenth-century alliterative poem based on recension J^{3a}, with supplementary use made of the *Fuerre de Gadres*. This work is completely preserved in two MSS, which, though fragmentary, happily supplement one another.³

ii. The *Thornton Alexander*

Likewise from the fifteenth century we have an independent, somewhat abridged prose version of J^{3a}, the *Thornton Alexander*.⁴

4. The J²-Recension

As has already been noted (pp. 50, 51, n. 1, above), the J²-recension of the *Historia de Preliis* is a reworking of J¹, which was carried out quite independently of J³, and of uncertain

¹ The facts of the case are set forth in great detail by G. L. Hamilton, *Speculum* II (1927), 113-146.

² Hamilton, *art. cit.*, pp. 131-145; the date 1250 (*art. cit.*, p. 146) is a misprint for 1150 (see p. 145).

³ Ed. W. W. Skeat, *The Wars of Alexander*, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 47 (1886). For literature, see J. E. Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (New Haven, 1916 ff.), pp. 104, 105 and 778, 779 under 'Fragment C' and 'Dublin MS.' (*Al. D.*). Pfister, p. 39; see p. 28, n. 6, above for the *Fuerre de Gadres*. For J^{3a}-source, see Hamilton, *art. cit.*, *Speculum* II (1927), 113-131; this article takes full cognizance of and supersedes previous source-studies. Fol. 51r (vv. 2950-2979) is reproduced as Plate XI in W. W. Skeat, *Twelve Facsimiles of Old English MSS* (Oxford, 1892).

⁴ Ed. without introduction by J. S. Westlake, E.E.T.S., Orig. Ser. 143 (1913 for 1911). See Wells' *Manual*, pp. 105, 779, and on the source, G. L. Hamilton, *art. cit. supra*, pp. 113-131. On the MS., see R. M. Woolley, *Catalogue of the MSS of the Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1927), pp. 51, 52 (item 91, 1).

date.¹ The nature of this rifaccimento has long been understood and is characterized in the main by an extensive use of those portions of Orosius' *Historia* which treat of Alexander the Great (hence earlier called the 'Orosius-recension'), also of Valerius Maximus, Pseudo-Methodius, Josephus, Pseudo-Epiphanius² and, as in J³, of the Indian tractates.³ The redactor of J², unlike the redactor of J³, in general adhered closely to the wording of his J¹ original, although he attempted to enrich the story and regrouped certain sections in such a fashion as to give greater coherence to the narrative. The J² MSS exhibit within themselves slight variations in matters of detail, but never to an extent which admits of doubt as to their classification.

The J²-recension, like J³, is noteworthy for the number of vernacular translations (whole or selections) made of it from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

As a secondary source this recension was utilized (*ca.* 1250) by Rudolf von Ems (whose main source is the history of Quintus Curtius Rufus);⁴ by Ulrich von Eschenbach (drawing

¹ G. L. Hamilton, 'Quelques Notes sur l'Histoire de la Légende d'Alexandre le Grand,' *Mélanges de Philologie et d'Histoire offerts à M. Antoine Thomas* (Paris: Champion, 1927), pp. 199, 201, 202, urges an eleventh-century date; against Hamilton's argument, see Fr. Pfister, *Germanisch-Roman. Monatschr.* XVI (1928), 84, 85.

² Source in the supposititious *Vitae Prophetarum*, Jeremiah, as printed by E. Nestle, *Marginalien und Materialien* (Tübingen, 1893), 'Die dem Epiphanius zugeschriebenen Vitae Prophetarum in doppelter griech. Rezension,' pp. 16, 18; pointed out by Pfister, p. 16.

³ Characteristics described by Ausfeld, 'Die Orosius-Recension der Historia Alexandri Magni de Preliis u. Babiloth's Alexanderchronik,' *Festschrift d. Bad. Gymnasien* (Karlsruhe, 1886), pp. 99-120. This material is conveniently surveyed by A. Hilka in the introduction to his edition of the J²-Latin text, *Der Altfrz. Prosa-Alexanderroman . . . nebst d. Latein. Original d. Historia de Preliis (Rezension J²)* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1920), pp. xxi-xxii, with notes on J²-Latin MSS, pp. xxvii ff. For further J²-MSS (esp. Paris), see Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 251, n. 4; add Epitome in Harv. Univ. MS. Lat. 122. To early prints, add Utrecht incunabulum as noted by G. L. Hamilton, *Speculum* II (1927), 118, n. 2.

⁴ Inedited. On sources see Zingerle, esp. pp. 53 ff. for agreement with Latin MS. S (J²). Linguistic, metrical, and textual studies preliminary to an

[ca. 1280] mainly upon the *Alexandreis* of Philippe Gautier de Châtillon);¹ by Seifried aus Oesterreich (ca. 1352);² by the redactor of the Basel revision of Lamprecht;³ by Babiloth for the larger first part of his *Alexanderchronik*;⁴ apparently by John Gower ([1390], drawing mainly on the *Roman de Toute Chevalerie*);⁵ and by the author of the Hebrew *Josippon* for Book ii, cap. 9-25, of that work.⁶

edition by V. Junk, *P.B.B.* XXVII (1902), 446-503 and XXIX (1904), 369-469. See p. 22, n. 1, above for Curtius Rufus.

¹ Ed. W. Toischer, *Alexander von Ulrich von Eschenbach* (Bibl. d. litterar. vereins in Stuttgart, No. 183), Tübingen, 1888; H. Paul, *Ulrich von Eschenbach und seine Alexandreis*, diss. Berlin, 1914. See Ehrismann, *op. cit.*, II, ii (1927), Pt. 1 (Index). Text specially excerpted by F. Jelinek for his *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch zu den Deutschen Sprachdenkmälern Böhmens und der Mährischen Städte* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1911); see *op. cit.*, p. vii. Cf. p. 22, n. 1, above.

² Pfister, pp. 39, 43; *Hilka*, p. xxi; Paul's *Grundriss* (2d ed.), II, i, 291. The three last mentioned writers classified by Ausfeld, *Orosius-Recension* (*cit. supra*), p. 112.

³ See p. 27 above and Pfister, p. 39, 41 (chart).

⁴ See p. 55 above.

⁵ For the *Roman de Toute Chevalerie*, see p. 34 and notes 2 and 3 above. Certainly based upon §§ 12, 99, and 110 respectively of the *Historia de Preliis* is *Conf. Amant*. vi, 2289-2336; v, 1453-1496 (= *Al. B* 653 ff.) (see Pfister, *Germanisch-Roman. Monatschr.* XVI 1928, 85, 86); and v, 1570-1585. With one exception these selections do not happen to include passages suitable for distinguishing between redactions J¹, J², J³: the reading of *C.A.* vi, 2336, *Sche* [sc. *Olimpias*] *schop the body was begrave* is almost certainly characteristic of J² (p. 64, 1, a below), as may likewise be the spelling *Nectanabus* (pp. 65, 66 below). The corresponding passages in the Spanish translation of the *Conf. Amant*. occur on pp. 369, 370, 240, 241, and 242, 243 respectively of *ed. cit.*, p. 34, n. 3, above.

Besides the passages in *C.A.*, it is to be noted that the *Mirour de l'Omme* 12997-13017 (murder of Darius) corresponds roughly to *H. de P.* §§ 71-75 and Julius Valerius ii, 31-34; but it is scarcely possible to determine the precise source. *Mirour de l'Omme*, 22061 ff., glances at the poisoning of Alexander, and *Traillié* vi, 1 and 2 recapitulates the Nectanabus story.

⁶ For Hebrew text with Latin transl. parallel, see *Josephus Goronides, siue Josippon Hebraice Latine uersus atque notis illustratus a J. F. Breithaupt* (Gotha, 1703), ii, 9-25 (pp. 90-167); the best edition of the Hebrew text is *Josippon qui inscribitur liber ad fidem editionis Abrahama Conat. Mantuae ante annum 1480 imprensae edidit denuo Baron David Günzburg; praefatus est Abraham Kahana* (Berditschew: Scheffel, 1896-1913), pp. 35-58. For further information, see Ausfeld, pp. 25, 26; *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., XV, 521b; *Jewish Encycl.* VII (1904), 259, 260 on author (bibliog); also Adolf Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles* (Anec. Oxon., Semit. Ser. I, 4, 1887), pp. xii, xxi. Discussion of Hebrew Alexan-

Besides the above-mentioned works in which portions of the J²-recension appear more or less prominently, there are a number of independent works based on this same interesting and important recension of the *Historia de Preliis*.

i. Two Hebrew J²-Versions

Anon. A (by Samuel ibn Tibbon?) and *Anon. B*

Among the earliest translations of the J²-recension are two renderings into Hebrew through the intermediary of a somewhat free lost Arabic translation (translations?); these may be designated *Anon. A* and *Anon. B*. Of *Anon. A*, attributed perhaps uncritically to the famous eleventh- or twelfth-century translator, Samuel ben Jehuda ibn Tibbon,¹ excerpts have been published,² and *Anon. B* has been published in full.³ The problems of date, place of composition, and the relation of *Anon. A* to *Anon. B* (and of both to the corresponding portion of *Josippon*) are still unsettled;⁴ it has been suggested that they, like

der material by M. Steinschneider, *Die Hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1893), p. 898. Notes by H. Becker, *Die Brahmanen in der Alexandersage* (progr. Königsberg, 1889), p. 3 and *passim*. Arabic transl. of *Josippon* discussed J. Wellhausen, *Abh. d. Götting. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl., N.F., Bd. 1 (1897), Nr 4 (Alexander material); Arabic transl. of *Josippon* probably lies behind an Ethiopian text, of which the Alexander material is transl. by E. A. W. Budge, (*op. cit.*, p. 39, n. 3, above), pp. 403-428. On relation of Ethiopian to Arabic, see M. Steinschneider, *Die Arabische Lit. d. Juden* (Frankfurt a. M.: Kauffmann, 1902), p. 114, Sect. 71. J²-classification recognized by Pfister, p. 39 and Hilka, p. xxi.

¹ Ausfeld, p. 26; see M. Steinschneider, *Die Hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 899, 900 for discussion and literature. Further bibliog. of Samuel ibn Tibbon, *Jewish Encycl.* VI, 549, 550. Analysed and Arabic as immediate source urged by M. Gaster, in 'Еврейская Александрия XII-го Века' in *Сборник Отделения Русского Языка*, etc., Vol. LIII (1892), No. 7, pp. 29-56; Veselovskii, *ibid.*, pp. 21-27, argues for direct translation from Latin.

² I. Lévi, *Revue des Etudes Juives* III (1881), 244 ff.

³ Ed. I. Lévi, in *Sammelband Kleiner Beiträge aus Handschriften* II (1886), first item, and printed separately as *Le Roman d'Alexandre: Texte Hébreu Anonyme . . . avec une Introd. et des Notes Critiques*, Paris: Durlacher, 1887. Critically considered in relation to *Anon. A* and to Harvard MS. Lat. 121, formerly *Cod. Seitenstett. XXXI* (J²), by Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 900-903.

⁴ Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 903, 904.

Josippon, were written in Southern Italy or Sicily and not far from the time of Samuel ibn Tibbon.

ii. The Old-French Prose Version

From the second half of the thirteenth century we have the Old-French prose translation preserved in many MSS and in several early prints (1506–1587) under the title *L'Histoire du Noble et tres Vaillant Roy Alexander le Grand*. The prologue is a translation of part of the *Compilation of St Albans*.¹

iii. Middle-Swedish *Konung Alexander*

From about 1380 we have a metrical Swedish version of the J²-recension, *Konung Alexander*, by Bo Jonsson² (†1386).

iv. Two Italian Prose Versions

Italian B and C

At least two Italian prose versions of the J²-recension can be identified: (1) the older text (MS. early 15th c.) already published in full by Grion and here designated *Ital. B*; (2) Florence, Bibl. Naz. MS. II. i. 62 (MS. 1470 A.D.), here designated *Ital. C*, of which Grion published only portions to fill out lacunae in *Ital. B*. *Ital. B* and *Ital. C* appear to be independent of one

¹ Gröber's *Grundriss* II, i, 1011, 1012, and Meyer, II, 305–311. Ed. with valuable introduction by A. Hilka, *Der Altfrz. Prosa-Alexanderroman* . . . Halle: Niemeyer, 1920; rev. by Fr. Pfister, *Zs. f. Frz. Spr. u. Lit.* XLVII (1924), 87–92. On the OFr. Prologue, see *Speculum* I (1925), 225–232; also pp. 18–21 above.

² Published: (1) by J. Hadorph, *Alexandri Magni Historia på Svenska Rijm* . . . Visingsborg, 1672; and (2) by J. A. Ahlstrand (title-page erroneously reads G. E. Klemming), *Konung Alexander* (Svensk. Fornskr.-Sällsk.), Stockholm, 1862; *ibid.*, pp. 360, 361 for details of MS.; vv. 3495–3600, 5784–5844 ed. A. Noreen, *Altschwed. Lesebuch* (Halle, 1892–94), pp. 72–76, notes pp. 115 (on editor), 119. See also R. Nyerup, *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder* (Copenhagen, 1816), pp. 52, 53. Classification recognized by Pfister, p. 39 and by Hilka, p. xxi. On the text, see T. Hjelmqvist, 'Rättelser och Forklaringa till Fornsvenska Texter,' in Hugo Pipping's *Studier i Nordisk Filologi* IV (Helsingfors, 1913), No. 3, pp. 1–24, and for Norwegianisms E. Olson in *Från Filologiska Föreningen i Lund*, Språkliga Uppsatser IV (1915), 102–104.

another, though possibly they may represent independent reworkings of a lost vernacular translation of a Latin J²-text closely related to *Cod. Monac. Lat. 824*; they are certainly not, as Grion thought, translations from OFr.¹

Some Unclassified Versions of the *Historia de Preliis*

Grouped here are a number of texts, Latin manuscripts and vernacular versions, probably translated from the *Historia de Preliis*. These, so far as I know, have not been studied with a view to determining their relation to recensions J¹, J², or J³.

Latin Manuscripts

Here may be mentioned Latin MSS in the Bibliotheca Nazionale, Naples,² Bodleian Latin MS. *Rawlinson 273*, fol. 31–60,³ and Jagellonian Library (Cracow), MS. CC. V. 29, fol. 145v–180v (*saec. xv*).⁴

The Erfurt Alexander

Still requiring further study is the so-called *Erfurt Alexander*, giving an account of the Nectanabus episode or the 'enfance'

¹ B-text (with excerpts from C) ed. G. Grion, *I Nobili Fatti di Alessandro Magno*, Bologna: Romagnoli, 1872. C-text ed. Dr C. A. Messner, *Two J² Versions of the Historia de Preliis in Italian Prose, with an Edition of the Nobili Fatti che ffe Alisandro di Macedonio*, MS. II, i, 62 of the *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, unpublished Harvard diss., Cambridge, 1928.

The spellings 'Nectanabo' ('Natanabo,' 'Nactanabo') in the sixteenth-century (?) Italian metrical paraphrase (with amplifications) of Brunetto Latini's *Li Livres dou Tresor* suggest that the author may have drawn on some version, Latin or vernacular, of the J² *Historia de Preliis*; see A. d'Ancona, 'Il Tesoro di B. L. Versificato,' *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Ser. 4, Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, IV (1888), 134 ff. Brunetto made little use of the Alexander legend in the *Livres dou Tresor*; cf. Chabaille's edition, pp. 36, 37, and Index.

² Noted by R. Ortiz, *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* LXXXV (1925), 83, 84 (footnote).

³ W. D. Macray, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, Pt V, fasc. i, p. 287 (Oxford, 1862).

⁴ W. Wisłocki, *Katalog Rękopisów Biblioteka Jagiellońska* (Cracow, 1877–81), p. 762 (item 3538).

of Alexander, composed as a prologue to the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Châtillon (see p. 22, n. 1, above).¹

The Hebrew *History of Alexander*

In the middle of the fourteenth century the distinguished Jewish astronomer, Immanuel (Bonfils) ben Jacob de Tarascon, translated the *Historia de Preliis*,² perhaps from the J³-recension.³

The Walkenberger Compilation

Possibly based upon the *Historia de Preliis* is a Czech compilation by Matauš Walkenberger, *Hystorya o Králi Alexandrovi Welikém Makedonském, w níš se jeho Chwalitebný Žiwot*, published in Olmütz (Olomouc) by Giriĵk Handle about 1610.⁴

The Dublin Epitome

As yet unstudied is the brief epitome in Trinity Coll. Dublin, MS. D, 4, 12, edited by Skeat as 'The Story of Alexander.'⁵

¹ Ed. A. Hilka, 'Der Zauberer Neptanabus nach einem bisher Unbekannten Erfurter Text,' *Festschrift z. Jahrhundertfeier d. Univ. zu Breslau* (= *Mitteilungen d. Schlesisch. Gesells. f. Volkskunde* XIV, 1914, 80-89); important note on same by Pfister, *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* XXXVI (1916), 447, 448.

² M. Steinschneider, *Die Hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1893), p. 904 and p. 897 for Honein's apophthegms, discussed in connection with the present text by I. Lévi, *Rev. Etudes Juives* III (1881), 251-258. See also account of literary activity of Immanuel de Tarascon in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* XXXI (1893), 692-699; *ibid.*, p. 698 (*Historia de Preliis*).

³ I venture this suggestion on the basis of meager details given by Lévi, *art. cit. supra*; note the moralizing conclusion discussed pp. 251-255 (also legends to illuminations, pp. 249-251), which seems to be of the type already pronounced as characteristic by Pfister, *Münchener Museum* I (1912), 271 ff. J² is ruled out by the fact that Alexander perambulates Darius' palace *before* the latter's interment as noted by Lévi, *loc. cit.*, p. 256, ll. 4-5 and thus = Z., p. 194, ll. 22, 23 vs. Hilka, p. 133a, ll. 36, 37. For small specimens of the Hebrew text with French translation see Lévi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 266, 268, 270 = Z., pp. 131, l. 12-134, l. 22.

⁴ Copy in National Museum Library, Prague, shelf-mark 30.E.4; for this information I am indebted to Dr Josef Volf. Cf. also J. G. Th. Graesse, *Trésor de Livres Rares* I, 71b. For Czech J³-version, see p. 53 above.

⁵ In *Wars of Alexander*, pp. 279-283, 317 (notes), *ed. cit.*, p. 56, n. 3 above.

THE LEGENDARY SOURCE OF *Alexander A* AND *Alexander B*A. *Alexander A*

It is clear from the outline given above (p. 17 above) that the non-historical portion of *Al. A* is essentially concerned with the Nectanabus episode, or what might be properly termed the 'enfances' of Alexander, corresponding to Zingerle-Hilka, §§ 1-16. Unfortunately there is a break in the text (especially § 9) in the account of Alexander's birth, including the omission of what would correspond to the first important Orosian interpolation characteristic of the J²-recension: *Tunc etiam nox usque ad plurimam diei partem tendi uisa est et saxea de nubibus grando descendens ueris terram lapidibus uerberauit* (Oros. iii, 7, 4 and cf. p. 160, § 9 below).¹ The presence of this phrase would facilitate immediate classification, but in the absence of a single well-recognized criterion, the course of procedure must be less direct and consist in comparing with the corresponding passages in *Al. A* those passages in which the various available J² Latin and vernacular texts depart from J¹.² In the following paragraphs I have, among the Latin J² texts, been able to use Hilka's edition (cited Hilka), the variants from former *Cod. Seitenstettensis. XXXI*, now Harvard University *MS. Lat. 121* (cited *S*),³ and *Cod. Monac. Lat. 824* (cited *M*¹);⁴ among the J² vernacular versions I have used Hilka's edition of the OFr.

¹ See pp. 56, 57, above.

² The vernacular texts are extremely valuable for positive evidence, less significant on the negative side, since the translators may, and often do, condense at will, omitting given phrases and often whole passages — frequently at crucial points.

³ Briefly described by Zingerle, p. 20, n. 4. This MS., offered for sale by E. P. Goldschmidt and Co., Ltd, London, January 1928, in *Catalogue XIII. Medieval Latin Literature*, p. 20 (item 90), was purchased by the Harvard College Library, February, 1928. The abbreviation *S*, with its sanction of association and long and frequent usage, has been retained; the readings given are, however, taken directly from the MS., not from Zingerle's apparatus to which reference is given for general convenience.

⁴ Abbreviation adopted by Ausfeld, *Festschr. d. Bad. Gymnasien* (Karlsruhe, 1886), p. 98, and followed by Hilka, p. xxiv. For an account of the text and for

prose Alexander (cited OFr. prose),¹ the Middle-Swedish *Könung Alexander* (cited *Kon. Alex.*),² *Ital. B* and *Ital. C*,³ and Hebrew *Anon. B*.⁴

The test-passages chosen for discussion below are arranged in five groups: (1) those in which *Al. A* against *J*¹ agrees with all available *J*² Latin and certain *J*² vernacular texts; (2) those in which *Al. A* against *J*¹ agrees with *S*, *M*¹ (but not Hilka), and certain *J*² vernacular texts; (3) those in which *Al. A* against *J*¹ agrees with *S* (but not *M*¹ and Hilka) and certain *J*² vernacular texts; (4) one passage in which *Al. A* against *J*¹ agrees with *M*¹ (but not *S* and Hilka) and certain vernacular *J*² texts; and (5) one passage in which *Al. A* agrees with the OFr. prose.

1. Features common to the *J*²-tradition

(a) *A* 1105–1106: Olympias, not Alexander, superintends the last rites of Nectanabus. In this *Al. A* agrees (against *J*¹)⁵ with *iussit eum regina sepelire* of Hilka,⁶ *S*,⁷ *M*¹,⁸ the OFr. prose,⁹ *Ital. B*,¹⁰ *Ital. C*,¹¹ Gower,¹² and Hebrew *Anon. B*.¹³

the text itself, see pp. 114 ff. and 139 ff. below. In *Rev. Etudes Juives* III (1881), 267, 269 and 274, Lévi prints from Bibl. Natl. *MS. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 174* (*J*²): (I) an excerpt = Hilka, pp. 14a, 23–24a, 9 (too brief to be of use here); and (II) an excerpt = Hilka, p. 140a, 11–141a, 37 for which there is no corresponding text in *Al. B*; the same is true of the short extract from Bibl. Natl. *MS. Fonds Lat. 8503* (*J*²) = Hilka, pp. 87, 36–88, 13 (Lévi, *loc. cit.*, p. 265, n. 1). One suspects the accuracy of Lévi's transcriptions.

¹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 60, n. 1 above.

² *Ed. cit.*, p. 60, n. 2 above.

³ *Edd. cit.*, p. 61, n. 1 above.

⁴ *Ed. cit.*, p. 59, n. 3 above.

⁵ *Ed. Z.*, p. 140, 2, 3: *Alexander . . . iussit eum sepelire*. Note that the *J*^{3a} *Wars of Alexander* (= Dublin MS., vv. 737, 738) seems to combine *J*³ (here = *J*²) and *J*²: *Than makes his mann and hys moder menksfully and faire/Titely hys enterment*; see p. 55 above.

⁶ *Ed. cit.*, p. 33a, 11, 12.

⁷ Fol. 106C: *Et iussit eum regina[m] sepeliri*; *regina* is certainly an error for *regina*; see *Z.*, p. 140, 3 note.

⁸ P. 164, § 13 below.

⁹ Hilka, p. 33b, 20, 21: *Maintenant fist la roïne prendre le cors et le fist enterrer*.

¹⁰ *Ed. Grion*, p. 15: *Allora comandò la reina che fosse sopellito*.

¹¹ *Ed. Messner*, p. 100: *Alotto chomando la reina che fusse soppellito*.

¹² P. 58, n. 5, above.

¹³ *Ed. cit.*, p. 5, ll. 20, 21: 'And the queen ordered and they buried him with honor within her palace' (ותצו המלכה ויקברוהו בכבוד בתוך היכלה).

(b) *A* 1132-1133 tells us that Philip ordered the horse [Bucephalus] to be shut up ('enclosed') in an iron cage. In this *Al. A* agrees with '*et ibi recludite eum*' (not in *J*¹)¹ of Hilka,² *S*,³ *M*¹,⁴ with '*encloés*' of the OFr. prose,⁵ *Kon. Alex.*,⁶ *Ital. B*,⁷ *Ital. C*,⁸ and Hebrew *Anon. B*.⁹

(c) In *A* 1134, 1135 we are told that traitors and thieves ('*trayter*' and '*theef*') are to be fed the horse. This translates '*raptores et latrones*' (*raptores* not in *J*¹)¹⁰ of Hilka,¹¹ *S*,¹² *M*¹,¹³ with '*les robeours et les larons*' of the OFr. prose.¹⁴ *Ital. B*, *Ital. C*, *Kon. Alex.* and Hebrew *Anon. B* are here noncommittal.¹⁵

2. *S*, *M*¹, and *Al. A*

(a) Nectanabus: the spelling of the name of the Egyptian necromancer Νεκτανεβῶς with 'a' for the penultimate 'e' is characteristic of a considerable group of *J*²-texts and may be due to the influence of Julius Valerius.¹⁶ Thus, 'Nectanabus,'

¹ Cf. *Z.*, p. 140, 11, 12; the reading in *Ba.*, *atque ibi recludatur, ut et raptores et latrones* (Pfister, p. 54, 18, 19) is to be noted as the indirect (?) source of the *J*²-reviser.

² *Ed. cit.*, p. 35a, 13, 14.

³ Fol. 106 D; see also *Z.*, p. 140, 12 note.

⁴ P. 165, § 14 below.

⁵ Hilka, p. 35b, 11.

⁶ *Ed. cit.*, v. 548: *ok gömpde then hæst ij starke warn* (gömpde, pt. of gömma 'guard,' 'lock up,' 'conceal').

⁷ *Ed. Grion*, p. 16: *che fosse ben guardato*.

⁸ *Ed. Messner*, p. 101: *sia ghuardato*.

⁹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 5, ll. 24, 25: 'The king ordered and they made a sort of iron stall and they put the horse in it' (ויצו המלך ויעשו במין קובה של ברזל וישימו) (בתוכו הסוס).

¹⁰ Cf. *Z.*, p. 140, 12.

¹¹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 35a, 14.

¹² Fol. 106 D; see *Z.*, p. 140, 12 note.

¹³ P. 165, § 14 below.

¹⁴ *Ed. cit.*, p. 35b, 11, 12.

¹⁵ *Ital. B* (ed. Grion, p. 16): *malfattori*; *Ital. C* (ed. Messner, p. 101): *tutti quelli che deono morire per malifico*; *Kon. Alex.*, v. 550: *alla the mæn ther sik forbryta* (förbryta, 'to sin,' 'to do wrong'); *Anon. B* (ed. cit., p. 5, l. 25): 'all those who were condemned to death by the government' (כל המתחייבים הריגה) (למלכות).

¹⁶ Cf. ed. B. Kübler (Leipzig: Teubner, 1888), 'Index nom.' p. 232 and, quite independent of the spellings in *Ba.*, noted by Pfister, pp. 18, 19.

the spelling in *Al. A.*, is also that in *S*,¹ *M*^{1,2} *Kon. Alex.*,³ and, with varied spelling but always with penultimate 'a,' *Ital. B*⁴ and *Ital. C*.⁵ Hilka and the OFr. prose, on the other hand, have regularly, like *J*¹, 'Nectanebus.'

(b) *A* 477-486 tell us of certain magical experiments carried out by Nectanebus. In *J*^{1,6} Hilka,⁷ and *J*^{3,8} the phrase 'atque uocabat demones' or its equivalent is used in this connection, but in omitting this feature *Al. A.* agrees with *S*,⁹ *M*^{1,10} the OFr. prose,¹¹ *Kon. Alex.*,¹² *Ital. B*,¹⁴ and *Ital. C*.¹⁴

(c) *A* 960. On his arrival home from a Cappadocian campaign following the Third Sacred War, Philip kisses Olympias. In this *Al. A.* agrees with 'osculatus est eam' of *S* (fol. 105 B), *M*¹, *Br*¹, *Br*²,¹⁵ *Ital. B*,¹⁶ *Ital. C*,¹⁷ and *J*^{3,18} and against 'osculata eum est' of *J*¹,¹⁹ Hilka's *J*²,²⁰ and the OFr. prose.²¹ *Kon. Alex.* (vv. 246-256) is noncommittal.

¹ *Passim*.

² Pages 139 ff. below, *passim*.

³ *Ed. cit.*, v. 50, et *passim*.

⁴ Ed. Grion, pp. 1-3 'Natanabus,' pp. 4, 5 'Natabor' 'Nathabor,' p. 5 'Natanabor,' etc., *passim*.

⁵ 'Nattanabus,' *passim*.

⁶ *Z.* pp. 129, 12, 13.

⁷ *Ed. cit.*, p. 8a, 6, 7.

⁸ Strassburg print, 1486 (sig. A, fol. 1 r): *demones conuocabat*.

⁹ Fol. 103B; see *Z.*, p. 129, 12, note.

¹⁰ P. 140 below.

¹¹ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 9b, 31, 32.

¹² *Ed. cit.*, v. 63: 'han wiiste ther sina diæwls fund,' 'his diabolic craft instructed (guided) him.' *Diæwls fund* = mod. Swed. *diefwuls funder* (pl. tant.), in semi-proverbial phrase 'diefwuls funder och arga list,' 'des Teufels Kniffe und Piffie.' In *Kon. Alex.* the verse in question seems merely to translate *per magicas incantationes uidebat*; the immediately following verse 'tha sa han ij the samu stwund . . .' I take as a translation of 'atque intelligebat' of the Latin.

¹³ Ed. Grion, p. 2 has only 'e per grande incantamento ched elli fece.'

¹⁴ Ed. Messner, p. 87: *perche il grande inchantamento ch'elli fece*.

¹⁵ All conveniently cited by Hilka, pp. 26a, 25, note.

¹⁶ Ed. Grion, p. 10: *si trovò la reina Olimpias sua moglie sì l'abbracciò*.

¹⁷ Ed. Messner, p. 95: *si la bracco e bacolla*.

¹⁸ Strassburg print, 1486, sig. A, fol. 2r, col. 2.

¹⁹ *Z.*, p. 136, 3.

²⁰ *Ed. cit.*, p. 26a, 25, 26.

²¹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 26b, 23, 24: *la roïne li vint a l'encontre et le baisa*.

3. *M*¹ and *Al. A*

A. 628–635. In these lines is described a coffer ('*forcer*,' v. 628) containing representations of the 7 planets which determine human destiny. In the account common to *J*¹, *J*², and *J*³ one finds ordinarily: *et septem lapides sculptos ad septem astra pertinentes que sunt ad custodiam hominum posita*,¹ that is, 7 stones are associated with the 7 planets. In *A* 634, 635, curiously enough, the number of stones is 4:

Foure stones in fath forthe gon hee bryng,
pat lay longyng too the lovelich sterres.

Skeat² explained the substitution of 4 for 7 as due to the exigencies of alliteration, but the correct explanation may well be found in the tradition represented in *M*¹, a tradition evidently lying behind the Middle-English version:

.or.
et .iiii. lapides scultos ad .vii. astra pertinentes que sunt ad custodiam hominis posita.³

That this illogical reading was at one time more general in the *J*² tradition, is suggested by the fact that it is likewise reflected in *Ital. C*⁴ and *Ital. B*.⁵ The OFr. prose follows the normal tradition with '*vii. pieres*,'⁶ while *Kon. Alex.* is noncommittal on this point.

¹ *J*¹ (*Z.*, pp. 132, 21–133, 2); *J*² (*Hilka*, pp. 21a, 17–21); *J*³ (Strassburg print, 1486, sig. A, fol. 1v, col. 1.) Note that in 1486 *J*³ two stars in addition to the seven are mentioned: *septem lapides sculptos et duos lapides ad custodiam hominum constitutos*.

² *Ed. cit.*, p. 242, note v. 628.

³ See pp. 144, 145 below.

⁴ *Ed. Messner*, p. 91: *e dimostrative iiii pietre le que' sono messe per ghuardia dell' uomo*.

⁵ In *Ital. B* (ed. Grion, p. 5) we read '*e dimostrava li quattro alimenti di che l'uomo è fatto*,' here *alimenti* has clearly been substituted for *pietre* in an effort to save the sense and logic of the passage.

⁶ *Ed. cit.*, p. 21b, 32, 33.

4. *S* and *Al. A*

(a) *A* 574-583. A significant passage in *Al. A* is that in which is described the arrival of Nectanabus at the court of Philip and his first sight of Olympias. In the account common to *J*¹, *J*², and *J*³ one finds ordinarily:

Interea Philippus rex Macedonum abiit in prelium. Nectanebus autem ascendit palatium ut uideret reginam, et statim ut uidit pulchritudinem Olimpiadis, iaculatum est cor eius et exarsit in concupiscentiam illius tetenditque manum suam, salutans eam et dicens illi, 'Aue regina Macedonum!' ¹ . . .

In *Al. A* the corresponding passage runs as follows:

Now nolde Nectanabus no while dwell
 Too þe courte of þe kyng till hee comme were,
 Too looke on Olympias þe onorable queene,
 þat was alosed in lond of diverse raignes
 For one þe brightest of blee þat bore was in erth.
 Whan þe seg had seene that seemely ladie,
 Too greete that gracious hee gose in a haste;
 Hee cummes too þat comely and coflich saide,
 'Haile, quemfull queene, quaintly shape!
 Moste of all Macedoine, menskfull ladie!'

Now, it will be noticed that this differs from the usual account in the *Historia de Preliis* in 3 particulars: (1) there is no reference to Nectanabus' carnal desires; (2) Nectanabus' greeting is unaccompanied by a gesture of the hand; and (3) emphasis is laid upon the haste (580) with which Nectanabus goes to Olympias. Curiously enough these three features, lacking in the various recensions of the *Historia de Preliis* noted above,² are clearly represented in an interpolation in *S*, written in red two or three lines below the passage in question, where, as it stands, it is recapitulatory:

¹ *Z.*, pp. 131, 14-18 (*J*¹); Hilka, pp. 19a, 20a, 7, with *mox* for *statim* (*J*²); Strassburg print, 1486, sig. A, fol. 2r, col. 1 (*J*³).

² Likewise lacking in Julius Valerius, *ed. cit.*, p. 2, 12-18.

Hic cum (*sic*) Nectanabus percipiens et cognoscens recessum in prelium Phylippi regis Macedonie. Gliscens intueri reginam migransque ad palacium regis sine formidine ascendit in eum, cumque ascendisset, mox uenit in locum ubi regina erat. Uidens eius pulcritudinem statim aporinquans salutabat eam.¹

It is evident that the substance of this interpolation was in the source of *Al. A*, and the occurrence of this material here brings *Al. A* into some special relationship with a text of the *S*-type.²

(b) *A* 565. Serapis, god of the Egyptians, informs his suppliants that Nectanabus will return one day and '*help you faire*'; according to the tradition common to all versions of the *Historia de Preliis*, Nectanabus will return and avenge his people: '*et ulciscetur uos de inimicis uestris*.' Thus, among *J*²-texts we find this in Hilka,³ *M*¹,⁴ *O*Fr. prose,⁵ *Ital. C*,⁶ and *Kon. Alex*.⁷ On the other hand, for *ulciscetur*, the reading *tuebitur*⁸ 'will help' of *S* furnishes us with the textual tradition behind *Al. A* and *Ital. B*.⁹

5. *O*Fr Prose and *Al. A*

Finally may be noted a curious detail in which *Al. A* and the *O*Fr. prose agree against *J*¹ and *J*². In *Al. A* 1140, we are told that the oracle which Philip receives concerning the taming of Bucephalus was communicated to him in a dream, '*Of a myghtfull godde he mett pat tymè*.' *J*¹ and *J*² know nothing of this:

¹ Fol. 104A; see Z., p. 132, 1, note.

² *O*Fr. prose (Hilka, pp. 19b, 20-20b, 18), *Kon. Alex*. (vv. 143-154), and *Ital. B* (ed. cit., p. 4) are on the whole noncommittal. In *Ital. B*, however, the gesture with the hand is mentioned: *elli li porse la mano e disse*.

³ *Ed. cit.*, p. 14a, 15.

⁴ P. 142, below.

⁵ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 14b, 23, 24 (*vous vengera*).

⁶ Ed. Messner, p. 89: *e fatta vendetta de' nostri nimici e ffarete sugiatti a llui*.

⁷ *Ed. cit.*, vv. 132, 133: *Thaeth the fa aldre sidhan böter, / Thera borgher ok thera tinna*.

⁸ Fol. 103D; see Z., p. 131, 8 note.

⁹ Ed. Grion, p. 4: *e si v'aiuterà*.

'*Philippus rex responsum accepit a diis*,'¹ and the addition of the phrase '*per somnium*' seems to occur only in J³.² Yet like *Al. A*, the OFr.³ prose reads: '*Cele nuit songa li rois*,' pointing to a textual relation the significance of which I am unable to determine.⁴

SUMMARY

In surveying the passages in which *Al. A* agrees with passages, phrases, and words either common to the J²-tradition as a whole (§ 1, pp. 64, 65 above), or peculiar to several Latin and vernacular texts assignable to the J² group (§ 2, pp. 65, 66 above), or to *M*¹ and certain vernacular texts (§ 3, p. 67 above), or to *S* and certain vernacular texts (§ 4, pp. 68, 69 above), or to the OFr. prose (§ 5, pp. 69, 70 above), it is evident that the Middle-English fragment belongs to the J²-recension of the *Historia de Preliis*. But it is also obvious that we do not possess the immediate Latin source, i. e. the very MS. from which the English author made his translation. Until all J²-texts, Latin and vernacular, have been minutely examined, it will be impossible to construct a stemma and bring *Al. A* into more precise relationship with, let us say, *S*, *M*¹, *Kon. Alex.*, *Ital. B*, *Ital. C*, to mention five texts with which it seems to stand in especially close connection.⁵

¹ Z., pp. 140, 14 (J¹); Hilka, pp. 35a, 18, 19 (J²).

² Strassburg, 1486 (sig. A, fol. 3r and 3v): *In ipsis denique diebus responsum habuit Philippus per somnium*. Note that the J^{3a} *Wars of Alexander* does not reflect this phrase (Dublin MS. 798, 799). Is this omission an example of the influence of J² not noted by the Hamilton (see p. 56, n. 1 above)?

³ *Ed. cit.*, p. 35b, 16.

⁴ *Kon. Alex.*, vv. 551-556, says nothing of a dream, nor does *Ital. B.*, ed. Grion, p. 16: *lo re Filippo ebbe risponsione dalli suoi iddii*, nor *Ital. C* (ed. Messner, p. 101): *lo re Filippo ebbe risponsione da' suoi iddei*.

⁵ Besides the passages discussed here, attention is directed to a few others, too uncertain to be utilized for purposes of establishing a source, but which are discussed in the notes to vv. 570-573, 697, 699.

B. *Alexander B*

Al. B, as has already been observed (p. 17 above), resumes the narrative at some considerable time after the point at which *Al. A* breaks off; in substance it contains the equivalent of Z. §§ 90, 98–102, and 105; or to state the matter somewhat more explicitly *Al. B* tells of Alexander's visit to the land of the Oxydraces or Gymnosophists (§ 90), passes immediately to the story of the miraculous trees inhabited by fire-spuing birds (§ 105), and thence to the river Pison, called Ganges, where Alexander carries on an epistolary correspondence with Dindimus, king of the Brahmins (§§ 98–102). The order of events (paragraphs) immediately reveals the fact, long since recognized by H. Becker,¹ that *Al. B* is a translation of the J²-recension of the *Historia de Preliis*, of which the transposition of episodes, represented by the dislocation in Zingerle's numerical sequence, is characteristic.²

Skeat, unaware of the existence of the various J-recensions and comparing *Al. B* with the J³ Strassburg print of 1490, thought that either the Middle-English translator-author or the scribe of *MS. Bodl. 264* had effected the discrepancies which he noted as existing between *Al. B* and the J³-incunabulum (Skeat, *ed. cit.*, pp. xiii–xv). The discrepancies between

¹ *Die Brahmanen in der Alexandersage* (progr. Königsberg, 1889), p. 34: 'aus der Anordnung des Stoffes ist zu ersehen, dass der Verfasser dieses Gedichtes eine Hs. der von Ausfeld [*op. cit. infra*] so genannten Orosiusresenzion [J²] als Quelle benutzt hat.'

² See in general pp. 56, 57 above, esp. Ausfeld, *Festschrift d. Bad. Gymnasien*, p. 104, ll. 31–38, for the dislocations in the narrative here in question. Cf. also Z. p. 216, 2 note and p. 238, 16 note for dislocation in *S* (fol. 134A ff.), and Hilka, pp. 182, 185, 186–201 for J²-Latin and OFr. prose. *M*¹ (pp. 171 ff. below) exhibits this same transposed order and, among the vernacular versions, note *Kon. Alex.*, vv. 5707–5844 (= § 90), 5845–5886 (= § 105), 5887, 7330 (= §§ 98–102); *Ital. B.* (ed. Grion), pp. 132, 133 (= § 90), pp. 134–138 = §§ 98, 99 (in part) § 100 (beginning only), § 102, and Hebrew *Anon. B* (ed. cit.), pp. 73–75 (at front) for Zingerle paragraph-numbers indicating the same transposition. *Ital. C.*, according to Dr Messner, follows *Ital. B* in abridging the Alexander-Dindimus correspondence (Messner, *ed. cit.*, pp. 215–220). Both *Ital. B* and *Ital. C* omit § 105.

the J³-incunabulum and the J² *Al. B* extend, however, far beyond the mere ordering of the narrative, and in an attempt to discover a source for every part of the English Skeat drew from the Tractates as published by Bysshe (*op. cit.*, p. 45, n. 1, above). Consequently, in concluding his examination Skeat arrived at the opinion that the English author-translator was possessed of no little originality and a considerable power of selection, whereas a simple comparison of the English with the Latin text printed below will make immediately clear that in *Al. B* we have an almost slavishly faithful translation of a J²-text very similar to *M*¹.¹

Although we are relieved of the necessity of demonstrating further the J²-character of the source of the poem, an analysis of the more detailed relations of *Al. B* to the J²-recension may prove helpful for establishing at some later date the stemma of this J²-tradition.²

1. Points Common to the J²-Tradition

(a) *B* 12 glosses 'Genosophistiens' (v. 11, 'Gymnosophists') with *Now is þat name to mene 'þe nakid wise,'* translating the J²-gloss *.i. nudi sapientes* in Hilka,³ *S*,⁴ *M*¹,⁵ likewise reflected in the OFr. prose,⁶ *Kon. Alex.*,⁷ *Ital. C*,⁸ and Hebrew *Anon. B*.⁹

(b) *B* 138, 139: the river *Gena* (v. 141, 'Ganges') is glossed *þat Phison is called, /þat writen is in Holi Wriht and wrouht*

¹ See pp. 171 ff. below.

² For the text as represented by *Al. A*, see p. 70 above.

³ *Op cit.*, pp. 183a, 6, 7.

⁴ Fol. 134A; see *Z.*, p. 214, 24 n.

⁵ *P.* 171 below.

⁶ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 183b, 7, 8; *c'est a dire alant nu.*

⁷ *Ed. cit.*, v. 5715: *all tiidh nakne ganga the.*

⁸ *Ed. Grion*, p. 132, n. 2: against the unglossed 'Ginosofiste' of *Ital. B*, *Ital C* reads 'Genosepiste co è non nocenti,' a curious distortion of form and sense (*ed. Messner*, p. 213).

⁹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 34, ll. 12, 13, 15: 'and they were surnamed Gymnosophistes and its meaning is naked . . . From the naked wise to Alexander' (והיו מכונים גימונש פיתשיש [גימינוש פיתשוש] ופתרונו עירומים . . . מאת העירומים (העירומים אל אלכסנדר).

so to name, translating *quem Phison Sacra Scriptura (com)memorat* of Hilka,¹ S,² M¹,³ likewise reflected in the OFr. prose,⁴ *Ital. B*, *Ital. C*,⁵ and Hebrew *Anon. B*.⁶

(c) B 426, 427: *We ben busy of no swink nor no burn maken / For to wirchen our wil and wordliche serve* translates *nullum hominem in seruitio nostro habemus* of Hilka,⁷ S,⁸ M¹,⁹ likewise reflected in *Kon. Alex.*¹⁰ and Hebrew *Anon. B*.¹¹

(d) B 456: *But þat comeþ us by kinde we konne noht ellus* renders *sed per naturam loquimur* of Hilka¹² and M¹,¹³ likewise reflected in *Kon. Alex.*¹⁴ and Hebrew *Anon. B*.¹⁵

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 186a, 4-6.

² Fol. 134D; see Z., p. 220, 2 n.

³ P. 176, § 98 below.

⁴ *Ed. cit.*, p. 186b, 6-9: *que la sainte escriture de l'Ancien Testament apele Phison*.

⁵ *Ed. Grion*, p. 134 (for *Ital. C. ibid.*, note 1): *che la [Ital. C, l'outa] scrittura chiama Fison*. *Kon. Alex.* v. 5888 has only: *hon war stoor ok heet Gauira* (l.r. *Ganira?*) (Ganges).

⁶ *Ed. cit.*, p. 35, l. 25: 'And he journeyed thence and encamped by the river *Pison* from which was parted the river of Egypt, namely, the Nile' (ויסע משם). Note that the lemma *Ganges* is omitted, *ed. cit.*, p. 70, note 11 to p. 35: London MS. adds after the word *Pison* 'its name in the language of India is Ganges' (שמו בלשון (הודו קנגא).

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 191, 21, 22.

⁸ Fol. 136B; see Z., p. 224, 20 n.

⁹ P. 188 below.

¹⁰ *Ed. cit.*, vv. 6397, 6398. *Hær plæghom wi ey swena hafwa / Ther thiæna skulo om nakra gafwa* (gāfwa). From here until near the end, the OFr. prose is lacking; for lacuna in OFr., see Hilka, *ed. cit.*, p. 189, footnote. From the equivalent of Hilka, p. 191, 10 to the end, the Italian prose texts are too fragmentary to be used (see p. 71, n. 2 above).

¹¹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 38, ll. 8-10: 'With all this we do not need to be helped by each other in anything, and no man of us is the slave of his fellows; for it is not proper for a rational being to be the slave of his fellows, who are in his likeness and image. For our Creator is one, and none of us is superior to the other in the realm of nature' (ובכל זה אין אנו צריכים להעזר איש באחיו בכל מאומה, ולא יעבוד איש ממנו לבני גילו, כי לא יתכן להכם לעבוד את בני גילו, שהם כדמותו (בצלמו, כי בוראינו אחד, ואין לאחד ממנו יתרון על חברו בגבול היציר).

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 191, 35.

¹³ P. 189 below.

¹⁴ *Ed. cit.*, vv. 6439-6441. This interpolation is not in S (fol. 136C): *ut bene loquamur; per simplicitatem*, etc., as in J¹ (Z., p. 225, 6).

¹⁵ *Ed. cit.*, p. 38, ll. 12-15: 'But we, because we are not of your counsel, we dispise polished and mannered speech. But the object of our desire is the inner

(e) B 475: *we sen* translates *uidemus* of Hilka,¹ S,² M¹,³ likewise reflected in *Kon. Alex.*⁴ and Hebrew *Anon. B.*⁵

(f) B 697-703:

Juno þe joilese 3e juggen for noble,
 And weihs sain þat he witeþ in his worde one
 A spild spirit of þe air, þat may speke wondrus
 And telle what bitide schal of tene oþur welþe.
 3e leven alle in Appolin and also 3e tellen
 þat, for he medisine made and minstralus craftus,
 3e holde him giour ful good and god of þe handus.

The equivalent of this passage is not found in J¹,⁶ but approximately the same account (with Jove for Juno) is represented in the following passage in J²: *Iouem dicitis tenere spiritum aeris; Apollinem autem dicitis deum esse manuum pro eo quod ipse primum inuenit medicinam et musicam* (Hilka,⁷ M¹ ⁸), likewise

meaning of things, so that we innately understand the art of rhetoric and do not see any need of studying it; for it is based on vanity and mockery' (ומפני שאנו ממירים את עצתכם, נבוו צחצוח המלים ותקונם, אך חפצינו תוכן הענינים, עד אשר הכרנו חכמת המליצה, ואין אנו רוצים ללומדה, כי בנויה היא על שוא מהתלות). In the London MS. (*ed. cit.*, p. 73, note 4 to p. 38) the reading is: 'But as for ourselves the main object of our desire is to know the right order of things and their truth. And the art of logic is born with us as we come out of our mother's womb, and we do not study it and we are not in need of it' (אמנם) אנחנו חפצנו לדעת תקון הענינים ואמתתם, וחכמת ההגיון תוליד עמנו מבטן (אמנו, ולא נלמדה ולא נצטרך לה).

¹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 192, 10.

² Fol. 136C; see Z., p. 225, 17 n.

³ P. 190 below; apparently from *uidemus* of Ba. or the equivalent (*ed. Fr. Pfister, Kleine Texte*, p. 14, l. 1), which likewise supplied J³ with *uidemus* (see *Al. B.*, *ed. Skeat*, p. 18, next to last line).

⁴ *Ed. cit.*, v. 6474: *Tha wi se himilin*.

⁵ *Ed. cit.*, p. 38, ll. 19, 20: And if he desires to play and enjoy himself, *he lifts his eye towards heaven and beholds the stars* . . . (ואם חפץ להשתעשע ולהתנאות).

(ישא עיניו השמימה וראה הכוכבים).

⁶ Cf. Z., p. 229, 11 n.

⁷ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 194, 34-36.

⁸ Pp. 198, 199 below.

reflected in *Kon. Alex.*¹ *S* offers a somewhat condensed and slightly distorted version of the same: *Iouem dicitis autem tenere spiritum aeris; proinde (l. Apollinem?) dicitis illum esse deum manuum.*² In addition to the suggestion that the illogical *proinde* may represent a distortion of '*Apollinem*,' it should be immediately noted that *S* has in the inner margin opposite *Iouem* the gloss *Iunonem* in red which suggests a line of tradition reflected in the '*Juno*' (for '*Jove*') of *Al. B.*⁴

(g) *B* 757: *to eten* translates *manducare* of Hilka,⁵ *S*,⁶ *M*¹,⁷ likewise reflected in *Kon. Alex.*⁸

(h) *B* 994, 995: *For we ne give us to no gilt þat scholde God wrape, / Ne nouht nien Him her by niht no by day* translates *sed non facimus ea que contra Deum sunt* of Hilka⁹ and *S*¹⁰ (*M*¹ omits),¹¹ likewise reflected in *Kon. Alex.*¹²

¹ *Ed. cit.*, vv. 6796-6802:

Jovem hwa som han wil kenna,
Han sighin i radha idhrom anda.
Ok Opolinen gudh fore idhra handa
Idhra hænder sighin i han styra;
Han fan först lakedoom dyra;
Han fan oc konst först at sionga
Ther man hördhe aff nakre tungo.

² Fol. 138A; see *Z.*, p. 229, 11 n.

³ For other curious distortions of proper names, see *Speculum* I (1926), 227 ff.

⁴ See note to 659 where *Al. B.* has Juppiter for Juno. It may be further observed that the source of this passage (Juno and Apollo) in *J*² is a text similar to *Ba.* (ed. Fr. Pfister, *Kleine Texte*, p. 15, 25-28).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 195, 23.

⁶ Fol. 138B; see *Z.*, p. 230, 13 n.

⁷ P. 201 below.

⁸ *Ed. cit.*, v. 6865: *Then ene gudh han biudher off aato.*

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 198, 19, 20.

¹⁰ Fol. 139C; see *Z.*, p. 234, 10 n.

¹¹ P. 211 below.

¹² *Ed. cit.*, vv. 7233-7235:

Tha görom wi warom Gudhi renom
Enkte thæth wi illa menom
Oc enkte mote wilia Hans.

2. Verbal Alterations and Substitutions of J²

The following agreements in *Al. B* with verbal alterations and substitutions which characterize J² against J¹ may be noted.

(a) Against *misericordiam nullam* of J¹,¹ *B* 383 with *to no man mercy* translates *misericordiam nulli* of Hilka,² *S*,³ and *M*¹.⁴

(b) Against *predecessorum uestrorum* of J¹,⁵ *B* 468 with *oure eldrene* translates *predecessorum nostrorum* of *S*⁶ and *M*¹,⁷ likewise reflected in *Kon. Alex.*⁸ and Hebrew *Anon. B.*⁹

(c) Against *nostra consuetudine* of J¹,¹⁰ *B* 989 with *oure kinde consience* translates *nostra bona conscientia* of Hilka,¹¹ *S*,¹² and *M*¹.¹³

(d) Against *ueram humilitatem cognouimus* of J¹,¹⁴ *B* 1022 with *sopus mow knowe* translates *ueram ueritatem cognouimus* of *S*¹⁵ and *M*¹.¹⁶

(e) Finally, note one passage in *Al. B* where the phrase *under ris* (v. 501, 'under the branches') appears to reflect a tradition I have found only in *S*, where *frondium* occurs.¹⁷

¹ *Z.*, p. 223, 26.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 191, 1.

³ Fol. 136A; see *Z.*, p. 223, 26 n.

⁴ P. 186 below. *Kon. Alex.*, vv. 6291-6295, does not bring out this point.

⁵ *Z.*, p. 225, 15.

⁶ Fol. 136C; see *Z.*, p. 225, 15 n.

⁷ P. 189 below.

⁸ *Ed. cit.*, v. 6468: *ware forældra*. Hilka, p. 192, 8, follows the reading of J¹.

⁹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 38, ll. 17-19: 'But when the heart of any one of us is inclined toward its pleasure, it is turned to the reading of the parables of the forefathers and their adventures, and thereby he gives rest and restraint to his heart' (אולם כאשר יטה לב אחד ממנו אל תענוגו, ישים את לבו לקרוא חידות הראשונים וקורותיהם, ובוה יתן ללבו מרגוע ומוסר).

¹⁰ *Z.*, p. 234, 8.

¹¹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 198, 17, 18.

¹² Fol. 139C: *bona conscientia nostra*; see *Z.*, p. 234, 8 note.

¹³ P. 210 below. *Kon. Alex.*, *ed. cit.*, v. 7230 ff., does not bring out this point.

¹⁴ *Z.*, p. 234, 24-25.

¹⁵ Fol. 139D; see *Z.*, p. 234, 24 n.

¹⁶ P. 212 below. At this point a folio is missing in *Kon. Alex.* (see *ed. cit.*, pp. 235, 360); Hilka, p. 198, 35 follows the reading of J¹.

¹⁷ Fol. 136D; see *Z.*, p. 226, 2, note. Hilka (p. 192, 20) and *M*¹ (p. 191 below), agreeing with J¹, lack this word; *Kon. Alex.* (*ed. cit.*, v. 6503) has only *wara skogha* 'our forests' and is thus even less detailed than *siluarum et fontium* of J¹.

In conclusion one may say that the source of *Al. B* was a MS. which exhibited all of the characteristics common to *J*² both in the arrangement of the narrative and in verbal details; further that this Latin original was a MS. which, as in the case of *Al. A*,¹ was closely related to *M*^{1 2} and, in some details, very similar to *S*³ where *M*¹ and *S* depart from the text of Hilka.⁴

4. DIALECT AND SCRIBAL TRANSMISSION

A detailed study of the dialect of *Al. A* and *Al. B* is of importance for several reasons; for the fragments, though lacking in literary quality, are important not only because of their place in the Alexander Legend but also because of their relation to the Middle-English Alliterative Revival. Intimately associated with a study of this last, is the question of the home of the anonymous authors of the alliterative poems; and in recent years several of the individual works have been minutely studied with a view to making more precise geographical ascriptions. The West of England is generally, though not universally, accepted as the home of at least the earlier representatives of this group. Finally, the problem of date — and to a certain extent that of authorship — of *Al. A* and *Al. B* is bound up with findings in respect to the original dialect.

It may be stated at the outset that the dialect of neither fragment has been studied in the light of modern knowledge.⁵

¹ See p. 70, above.

² Cf. 2d, p. 76 above; for departure from *M*¹, see 1h and 2e, pp. 75, 76 above.

³ Cf. 2de, p. 76 above; for departures from *S*, see 1d, p. 73 above.

⁴ For passages whose relation to the Latin is too uncertain and too detailed to be useful here, yet noteworthy for future study, see notes below to 217-220, 356, 546, 571-574, 579, 585, 719, 783-786, 789, 852, 881-883, 1021, 1057.

⁵ Skeat's consideration of the language of these fragments was mainly morphological (*edd. cit.*, pp. 3, 14 above) and thus, for present purposes, insufficient.

Skeat considered the dialect of *Al. A* to be the same as that of the non-cyclic romance *William of Palerne*, which he describes as mainly West-Midland (W. Ml.), with an admixture of Northern (North.) and Southern (South.) forms;¹ *Al. B* he describes as W. Ml. with South. forms,² favoring Shropshire or Gloucestershire as the home of the author. Ten Brink locates both *Al. A* and *Al. B* in the region of the Welsh Marches.³ Presumably because of dialectal impurity neither fragment is classified by H. C. Wyld in his *Short History of English*⁴ or by K. Luick;⁵ in her recent important study of the West-Midland dialects Miss Serjeantson omits both fragments for reasons of space.⁶ The late Richard Jordan placed *Al. A* in South Lancashire,⁷ while in a less recent, though thoroughly important, article challenging the assignment of *Sir Gawain* to the W. Ml., J. R. Hulbert left *Al. A* and *Al. B* in the West, particularly in the region of Gloucestershire.⁸ In the opinion of the present writer assignment to Gloucestershire is approximately correct,⁹ but investigators do not seem to have founded their views upon any published study of dialectal criteria.

The arrangement of the following discussion of the dialect of *Al. A* and *Al. B* requires a word of prefatory comment. As already noted, *Al. A* and *Al. B* have survived in unique MSS, *Al. A* in an Elizabethan MS., *Al. B* in a MS. of the fifteenth century.¹⁰ Neither can be the original, i. e. the authors' copies,

¹ *Ed. cit.*, pp. xxxii, xl.

² *Ed. cit.*, pp. xxvi, xxix.

³ *Geschichte d. Engl. Lit.* (2d ed., rev. A. Brandl, 1899), I, 385.

⁴ 3d ed., New York: Dutton, 1927, pp. 100-102; elsewhere he cites one form from *Al. A* in a word-list from *William of Palerne* (*Engl. Stud.* XLVII, 1913, 49, under *beurn*).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, § 33, pp. 46-48.

⁶ M. S. Serjeantson, 'The Dialects of the West Midlands in Middle English,' *Review of English Studies* III (1927), 56; this article occupies the following pages: pp. 54-67, 186-203, 319-331.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, § 5, p. 9.

⁸ *Mod. Philol.* XIX (1921-1922), 16, n. 1.

⁹ Certainly south of S. Lancs.

¹⁰ See pp. 3 ff. above.

and we are, accordingly, concerned with poems whose texts are removed by one or more transcriptions from the original. The precise number of transcripts standing between the originals and the surviving MSS is, as might be expected, unascertainable, but, as will appear (pp. 89 ff. below), the MS. of *Al. A* is very likely at least third, the MS. of *Al. B* at least second, removed from the author's copy. Each transcriber appears to have left his linguistic track, and it is the resulting linguistic stratification which needs analysis.

I. The Original Dialect of *Al. A* and *Al. B*

i. Common OE. $\ddot{y} > u, eu$

The retention of the rounded sound of Common OE. $\ddot{y}$ ¹ is perhaps one of the best established and most generally accepted tests for distinguishing the dialects of the West and South from those of the East. It is recognized, for example, by Brandl,² Jordan,³ Luick,⁴ Serjeantson,⁵ Sweet,⁶ Wright,⁷ and Wyld.⁸ Assignable E.Ml. documents exhibit, it is true, *u*-spellings for the usual *i*, but only very sporadically.⁹

In *Al. A* and *Al. B* the following words with *u*-spellings (where *u* = [*ü*]) occur:

burd (OE. **byrde?*),¹⁰ A 642, 715, 772: *burde*, A 670, 719, 724, 793, B 418; *burdus*, B 893; *bulde* (OE. *byldan*), B 437, 848, 1044; *bulden*, B 1134; *burth* (OE. *gebyrd*, *byrþ-*), A 602, 648;

¹ I. e. OE. $\ddot{y} < i$ -uml. of Germanic $\ddot{u}$.

² 'Zur Geographie d. Ae. Dialekte,' *Preuss. Akad. Abh.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1915, Nr 4, pp. 42 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, § 39, 3.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, § 287, pp. 261, 262.

⁵ *Art. cit.*, p. 65 (a), 189 (4), 190.

⁶ *Hist. of Engl. Sounds*, § 664, p. 177.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, §§ 49, 57.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, § 205 (table); *idem*, *History of Modern Colloquial English* (2d ed., London: Fisher Unwin, 1921), p. 34, § 3, and pp. 244-247.

⁹ O. Börner, *Die Sprache Roberd Mannyngs* (Halle, 1904), pp. 76, 77.

¹⁰ A characteristically W.Ml. word (Jordan, § 165, p. 150).

burye (OE. *byrgan*), A 1106; *bured*, B 775; *busy* (OE. *bysig*), B 426; *busiliche*, B 239, 282; *brutned* (OE. *brytnian*), A 888; *fullen* (OE. *fyllan*), B 1015; *fur* (OE. *fȳr*), B 682; *gurden* (OE. *gyrdan*), A 434; *guldene* (OE. *gylden*), B 522; *hupes* (OE. *hype*), A 190; *ludene* (OE. *lȳden*), A 601; *luþur* (OE. *lȳðre*), B 272, 400, 569, 629, 773, 868, 878, 888, 946; *luþurly*, B 460, 1055; *luþurli*, B 785; *schuft*, A 186 (see note to line); *thurlude* (OE. *þyrelīan*), A 608.

eu-spelling

Burd also appears frequently in *Al. A* with *eu* for *u*: *beurd*, A 1106; *beurde*, A 195, 202, 205, 224, 672, 868; *beurdes*, A 228.

e-spelling

With *e* for an OE. *ȳ* may be noted the isolated *lepur* in B 1100.

i-spellings

Of the words listed above with *u*-, *eu*- and *e*-spellings, the following also occur with *i*:

birth, A 1034; *fillen*, B 317, 538, 795; *fir*, B 136, 332, 753; *fir-hill* (*igneus mons*), B 1069; *lidene*, A 782.¹

In the above lists there are 14 words (42 instances in a total of 2388 verses) in which original OE. *ȳ* is represented by *u* = [*ü*]. This is a goodly number and sufficient to make an E.Ml. provenance extremely unlikely.²

2. OE. *ēo* > *u*, *eu*, *ue*, *eo*, and *o*

A second general test for W.Ml. vs E.Ml. is the development of OE. *ēo*. In the E.Ml. the development is to *e*; in the W.Ml.

¹ *Build* and *buyt* in *Al. A* are ambiguous; the *ui* (*uy*) may represent *ü* or, more likely, the 'Standard' of the Elizabethan scribe. See pp. 92 ff. below.

² H. C. Wyld (*Engl. Stud.* XLVII, 1913, 33-36) found 30 words in *William of Palerne* (5540 vv.); R. J. Menner (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n XXXVII*, 1927, 507) found 19 in *Purity*, *Patience*, and *Pearl* (aggregating 3555 vv.) and 23 in *Gawain and the Green Knight* (2530 vv.).

to [ü], represented variously by *u*, *eu*, *ue*, *eo*, and *o* [= *ö*]. Wyld, supported by other investigators,¹ writes thus:

The development of OE. *ēo* into *ē* on the one hand, or into *ū* on the other, is one of the great dialectal tests between East and West (not between South and Midlands), and it would be rash to assign any text which had only *e* in words which had this diphthong in OE. to an area farther west than the borders of Hampshire.¹

In *Al. A* and *Al. B* the following words occur with *u*:

burn (OE. *beorn*), A 1106, 1165, 1168, B 103, 135, 175, 418, 426, 582: *burnus*, B 147, 713; *chused* (pt. ind. of *chuse* < *cēo-san*), A 140;³ *dupe* (OE. *dēop*), A 1130, 1154;⁴ *hure* (OE. *heora*), B 16, 48, 123 and 20 ×: *hur*, B 20, 59, 60 and 14 ×, A 4, 20, 65 and 49 ×; *lud* (OE. *lēod*), A 176, 231, 302 and 17 ×, B 18, 106, 168 and 28 ×: *lude*, A 588, 603, 607, 1040, 1045: *ludes*, A 331, 366, 444 and 10 ×: *ludus*, B 43, 56, 142 and 23 ×; *ludene*, B 773; *luf* (OE. *lēof*), B 562, 788; *tulye* (W. S. *teolian*), B 846.⁵

eu-spellings

beurn, A 9, 55, 110 and 7 ×: *beurnes*, A 2, 435, 499, 501, 928; *reulich* ⁶ (? OE. *hrēowlic*), A 341.

¹ Jordan, *German.-Roman. Monatschr.* II (1910), 130 and *Handb.*, §§ 65 ff. (*eo*), § 84 (*ēo*); Luick, *op. cit.*, § 357, p. 333; H. Sweet, *History of Engl. Sounds*, § 657, pp. 175, 176; Wright, § 65 (pp. 32, 33).

² *Hist. of Mod. Colloq. Engl.*, ed. cit., p. 35, § 4; cf. also *ibid.*, *Short History*, ed. cit., § 168 and *Engl. Stud.* XLVII (1913), 48, 49, 153 ff. For closer geographical definition, see Serjeantson, *art. cit.*, pp. 190 (5), 191.

³ Typically South. and W.Ml.; see J. and E. M. Wright, *Element. Histor. New Engl. Gramm.* (Oxford, 1924), § 71, note (p. 48) and Jordan, § 84, n. 1, p. 84: 'Die westliche Schreibung *chuse*.'

⁴ See p. 7 above and footnotes to these lines.

⁵ Note OE. *tilian* > *tilien*, B 854; *tilede*, B 691. On the alternate forms as well as on the possibility of *tulye* = l.W.S. *tylian*, see Sievers-Cook, *Old Engl. Gramm.* 3d ed., § 105, 2 and p. 68, n. 4.

⁶ The normal development of OE. *ēow* in ME is to *ou*, but in the S.W. the course was *-ēow* > *öu* > *euu* (-*ew*); cf. Jordan, § 109, p. 114. For the view that the rounded sound represented by *eu* goes back to **hrēow*-, see Fr. Wild, *Wiener Beiträge* XLIV (1915), 162-164.

ue-spellings

buernes, A 888; *hue* (OE. *hēo*), A 34, 35, 36 and 13 ×, B 562, 656, 658, 691, 694; *lued*, A 44.

eo-spelling

feole (OE. *feola*), A 12.¹

o-spellings

zorner (OE. *zeorne*), B 179; possibly *frobroder*, A 23, 23a.²

e-spellings

Of the words listed above with *u*-, *eu*-, *ue*-, *eo*-, and *o*-spellings, the following also occur with *e*:

bern, A 212, 219, 632, 648, 669; *bernes*, A 228, 602, 860; *chesen*, A 114; *chese*, A 770, B 417, 1001; *deepe*, A 1075;³ *dep*, B 1098; *feeles*, A 880; *fele*, A 273;¹ *he* (? OE. *hēo*), B 654;⁴ *here* B 8, 24, 46, 58, 150, 1035a and 1035b; *her*, A 271, 440; *leefe*, A 60; *leeve*, A 226, 1054; *leve*, A 774, 847, B 67; *leeflich*, A 139, *lefflich*, A 427.

There are, then, 11 *ēo*-words of which 7 occur with *u*, and one each with *eu* (*reulich*), *ue* (*hue*), *eo* (*feole*), and *o* (*zorner*). Nine out of the total of 11 show variants with *e*. This is not a large list, yet, in proportion to the number of lines involved, it compares favorably with the collections made by Menner⁵ and by Wyld.⁶

3. OE. *ā* + nasal (unlengthened)

The development of OE. *ā* before nasals furnishes a convenient means of distinguishing between the dialects of the West and South; the situation is defined by Luick:

¹ For the more frequent *fale*, see § 5, p. 85 below.

² But see note to this line.

³ Cf. A 1130, 1154.

⁴ See note to verse, p. 238 below.

⁵ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n XXXVII* (1922), 512.

⁶ *Engl. Stud.* XLVII (1913), 48, 49; cf. *idem*, pp. 153 ff.

Im westlichen Mittelland (und vielleicht in einigen angrenzenden Strichen des Südens) rückte er [der *ǣ*-Laut] . . . zu einem Laute vor, der in mittellenglischen durch ständiges *o* wiedergegeben wird . . .¹

In the W.Ml. (vs. the S.W.) OE. *ǣ* before a single nasal tends to appear as *o*,² for example in the dialect of John Audelay,³ John Mirc, and in *Gawain and the Green Knight*;⁴ in the S.W., on the other hand, *o*-spellings seem to be sporadic.⁵ In *Al. A* and *Al. B* *o*-spellings are sporadic, thus pointing towards the South. In *Al. B* *o* occurs only in the preposition *from* (B 50, 140, 445) which also is found spelled *fram* (B 200, 215).⁶ In *Al. A*, *o* is somewhat more frequent, though all *ǣ*-words are found as frequently or more so with *a*:

a-spellings

can (OE. *cǣn*), A 298, 456: *kan*, A 1173; *canst*, A 1066; *gan* (OE. -*gǣn*), A 104, 142, 229 and 15 ×: *can* (= *gan*), A 813; *nam* (OE. *nǣm*), A 468; *wan* (OE. *wǣn*), A 237; *whanne*, A 326, 465; *man* (OE. *mǣn*) appears in *Al. A* and *Al. B* invariably with *a*.

o-spellings

con, A 31; *from*, A 74, 564, 1127; *gon*, A 480, 530, 557, 634; *gonne* A 292; *wonne*, A 112.

¹ *Op. cit.*, § 367, p. 357 and n. 1 where he writes, 'Somit ist dies *ø* ein kennzeichnendes Merkmal für diese Landschaften.'

² O. Börner, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77, notes this as exceptional in the E.Ml.

³ J. K. Rasmussen, *Die Sprache John Audelay's* (diss. Bonn/Rh., 1914), § 45, p. 29 and Table, p. 65.

⁴ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n XXXVII* (1922), 511.

⁵ Wyld (*Short History*, ed. cit., § 203, pp. 121, 122) does not note this as characteristic of the S.W., nor does *o* appear under these conditions in the *Gloucestershire Legends* (Fr. Mohr, *Legenden aus Gloucestershire*, diss. Bonn./Rh., 1888, pp. 8, 9); in Robert of Gloucester the occurrences of *o* are sporadic and not in rhyme (F. Pabst, *Die Sprache des Robert von Gloucester*, diss. Berlin, 1889, § 26, 1, p. 14). See Serjeantson, *art. cit.*, pp. 194 (10), 195.

⁶ In both *Al. A* and *Al. B*, *fro* (ON. *frá*) is preferred and may have encouraged the production of the spelling *from*; cf. Luick, § 367, n. 2, p. 358.

Thus, *Al. B* is virtually free from *o*-spellings, while in *Al. A* the ratio of *a* to *o* is about 4:1.¹

4. OE. *ǣ* + *ng* > *-ong*

All words which in OE. had *-ǣng* are represented in *Al. A* and *Al. B* by *-ong*.²

5. Late W.S. *ȳ* (OE. *īe*) > *u* [*iū*]

Among the marked characteristics of South West Midland dialects (perhaps especially of Gloucestershire)³ is the development parallel to Common OE. *ȳ* of I.W.S. *ȳ* < OE. *īe*, where this secondary *ȳ* tends to retain its rounded sound (written *u* [*iū*]) as against the development into *i* in the North Midlands and the North and into *e* and *o* [*ö*] of the South Midlands and Kent.⁴

The *u*-spellings in *Al. A* and *Al. B* speak emphatically for a Southern origin: ⁵ *furre* (I.W.S. *fyrre*), A 1176; ⁶ *hurd* (I.W.S. *hȳran*), A 1204; *hurde*, B 221, 243; *hurden*, B 167.

Alongside of *u*-spellings there occur, as might be expected in a non-Southern text, spellings with the Anglian *e*: *ferre*, A 1029; *fer*, B 162, 939; ⁷ *herde*, A 841, 874; *iherd*, A 656.⁸

¹ Cf. L. Morsbach, *Mittelengl. Gramm.* (Halle, 1896), § 93, p. 126: 'Der westliche Süden scheint bei urspr. Kürze fast nur a . . . gekannt zu haben.' Jordan (*op. cit.*, § 30, note, p. 49) attributes *o*-spellings in (early?) South. texts to the literary influence of the *o*-region, esp. Worcester.

² Cf. Luick, § 367, p. 357: 'Von *ng*, d.i. *ŋg*, schient, wie aus späteren Vorgängen zu erschliessen ist, mindestens auf einem grossen Teil dieses Gebietes das Vorrücken bis zu *ō* gelangt zu sein,' and § 429, p. 475, where this is referred to as 'speziell westmittelländisch.' Jordan, § 31, p. 49, also recognizes *ō* + *ng* as characteristic of the Midlands and South. Not discussed by Miss Serjeantson, *art. cit.*

³ So Miss Serjeantson, *art. cit.*, pp. 195 (11), 196.

⁴ So stated by Jordan, § 70, pp. 89, 90; also by Luick, § 263 (p. 238), and by Wyld, *Short History*, ed. cit., § 205 (table). See Sievers-Cook, *Old English Gramm.*, 3d ed., § 159, 2 and 4 (p. 106).

⁵ See Wyld, *Engl. Stud.* XLVII (1913), 47, 48.

⁶ MS. *furre*, with *i* above *u*.

⁷ For sixteenth-century *farre* < *ferre*, see p. 93 below.

⁸ For the Northern *firre*, see p. 91 below.

6. OE. *feala* > *fale*

The presence of *fale* (OE. *feala*) vs. or alongside of *fele*, *feole* (OE. *feola*) is, according to Jordan, 'ein wertvolles Dialekt-kriterium'¹ for distinguishing texts composed in the S.W. from those of W.Ml. or North. origin. In *Al. A* and *Al. B* 1 form in *a* appears alongside 3 in *e* and 1 in *eo*, while in *Al. B* *fale* is the only form:

fale, A 167, B 317, 528, 633, 643, 648, 753, 801 vs. *fele*, A 880; *fele*, A 273, 908; *feole*, A 12.

7. OE. *ældre* > *alder*

The development of Anglian *æ*, the *i*-umlaut of OE. *a* + *l* + cons., to *a* as against *e*, is characteristic of the WML.:² *alder*, A 22, B 1050; *-aldust*, A 27.

8. The Pronouns of the Third Person

i. The Feminine Nominative Singular

H-forms of the f. nom. sg. (OE. *hēo*) prevail in the South and South-West,³ while *sh*-forms alongside *h*-forms are found in the N.W.Ml.⁴ *She* occurs but twice in *Al. A*, both in 725; in *Al. B* only once (309); in both fragments *hue* is frequent,⁵ while *he* in B 654 may represent OE. *hēo*.

ii. The Nominative Plural

Th-forms predominate in both poems, though *h*-forms occur twice in *Al. A*: *hi* (231) and *hee* (274),⁶ representing the normal

¹ *Op. cit.*, § 73, n. 2 (pp. 91, 92); not discussed by Miss Serjeantson, *art. cit.*

² So in Jordan, § 61, b (p. 82); Luick, § 366 (p. 356); and Serjeantson, *art. cit.*, pp. 192 (8), 193.

³ Wyld, *Short History*, *ed. cit.*, § 205 (table); Serjeantson, *art. cit.*, pp. 201 (19), 202.

⁴ Wyld, *op. cit.*, § 205 (table).

⁵ For instances, see § I, 2 (*ue*-spellings), p. 82 above.

⁶ MS. *hey* (B 765) is certainly a scribal error for *þey*; see footnote *ad loc.*, and cf. A 396 where *þem* is probably miswritten for *hem*.

state of affairs in the S.W. and W.Ml. toward the middle of the fourteenth century.¹

iii. The Possessive Plural (OE. *heora*, *hira*)

In *Al. B* only *h*-forms occur, while in *Al. A* these are in a great majority: *hur*, 52 × ² vs. *þeir* (*their*, *theyr*), 16 ×.³

iv. The Object Case (Plural)

For the object case (OE. dat. and acc.) the proportion of *h*- to *th*-forms is about the same as for the possessive. *Al. B* is free of *th*-forms, while in *Al. A* *h*-forms predominate: *hem* (*hym*), A 4, 85, 140 and 41 × vs. *them*, A 101, 117, 122 and 19 ×. Against *hemselfe* (A 6, 301, 315, 361, 899) stands a single *þemself* (A 949). In *Al. B* only *hemself* is found (B 763, 917).

The presence of *their* and *them* in *Al. A* is perhaps best attributed to the North. scribe whose work is discussed below.

9. The verbs 'buy,' 'lay,' 'lie,' 'live,' 'say'

The OE. verbs *bycgan*, *lecgan*, *licgan*, *libban*, and *secgan* became *inter alia* in ME. *bien* (*buien*), *leien*, *lien*, *liven*, *seien*, the geminate forms being levelled out in favor of forms which developed normally from the OE. 2. and 3. sg. pr. and imp. sg. The South and S.W. partook in this levelling most slowly, reflecting the older stem-differentiation into the fourteenth century.⁴ *Al. A* and *Al. B* have mainly unlevelled forms:

biggede, B 144; *legge* (OE. *lecgan*) B 438, 592; *leggen*, A 366; *ligge* (OE. *licgan*), A 689, B 1025; *liggen*, B 446; *lygge*, A 1156; *libbe*, B 374, 833, 843, 856, 894, 1102, 1117; *libben*, B 288, 373,

¹ See general statement, Serjeantson, *art. cit.*, p. 202 (20), 203; cf. Wyld, *Short History*, § 205, for 'they,' 'their.'

² For instances, see p. 81 above.

³ A 126, 142, 152, *et passim*.

⁴ See Jordan, § 213, p. 188 for 'libben,' and Wright, § 296, p. 123 for general statement concerning these forms. In general, see *NED* under the verbs in question for geographical distribution (*a*-forms Southern).

539, 867, 1087: *libbing*, A 790: *liben*, B 788; *segge*, A 584, 610, 1033, B 657, 1096: *seggen*, B 740, 1048: *segging*, A 531: *sigge*, A 8.¹

10. Morphology

Alexander B

The morphology of *Al. B* has already been sufficiently examined by Skeat (*ed. cit.*, pp. xxvi–xxix). The inflexions, typical of the South-S.W.Ml. of the fourteenth century, led him to suggest Shropshire or Gloucestershire as the home of the poems (see p. 78 above); his findings need not be re-stated beyond calling attention to the analogical gen. pl. *-ene* in *briddene* (503), *bestene* (611, 640), *habelene* (320), *ludene* (773); the weak pl. *eldren* (*eldrene*) (468, 776), *erene* (812), *soulen* (633) vs. *soulus* (800); inf. in *-ie* in *tulye* (*tilien*) (846, 854), and *bolie passim*; the unlevelled pt. pl. *coren* (*corn*);² and the extensive use of *u* for the posttonic final vowel, especially the *-us* of the plu. of nouns and in pr. ind. of verbs.³

Alexander A

Owing to the lateness of the MS. and its vicissitudinous transmission, it would be unprofitable to attempt a detailed analysis of the morphology of *Al. A*. The final *-e* is here of almost as little significance as in an Elizabethan quarto, in some instances exhibiting accidental agreement with the history of the word, in most cases counting for little more than an orthographic device or ornament, as the case may be.

That the original text was furnished with a complete and

¹ On *sigge*, A 8, as a form especially characteristic of the W.Ml., see Jordan, *Handb.*, § 34, note 1 (p. 55), who refers to the present instance ('westl. Alis-aunder').

² For *coren* in the W.Ml., see *NED*, s. v. *choose*.

³ For the use of *i* in the posttonic position, see p. 90 below. For the personal pronouns, see pp. 85, 86 above.

regular set of endings¹ not substantially different from *Al. B* seems likely however from the very considerable number of inflected forms of various sorts preserved by the Elizabethan scribe. Among the rarer *n*-plurals one notes especially *flon* and *ton*.² In the adjective it is not possible to discover the details of the original practice. For the pronouns, see pp. 85, 86 above. The preservation of *-en* in those forms of the verb which had in OE. *-an*, *-en*, *-on* looks back to conservative fourteenth-century practice.³ In *derie* (1238) and *herie* (536, 703) one notes the preservation of the inf. in *-ie*. Of other verbal forms the 1. sg. pr. is no longer determinable; the 2. sg. is *-est*, more rarely *-es*. Against *-s*, *-es* (perhaps the Elizabethan scribe's adaptation of *-us* of the original?), *-eth* is found in *amounteth* (848), *asketh* (65), *enforceth* (287), *gooth* (708, 1075), *hath* (vs. *has*) *passim*, *lyeth* (721), *liketh* (639, 649), *passeth* (704, 1073), ? *resheveth* (188), *springeth* (504), *stiketh* (1055), and *waketh* (596).

Against the plu. of verbs in *-en* already noted, is the isolated characteristic S.W.Ml. *beth* (492) and the Northern pl. *-es* in *openes* (916) and *welcomes* (918). The 2. pl. imper. in *-es* (*-us*) occurs in *kairus* (623), *kares* (563), and *kennes* (591).

The present part. usually ends in *-ing* with a few examples of the North-West Midland *-and* (see pp. 90, 91 below).

The later scribes seem to have normalized posttonic vowels to *e*, but the characteristic W.Ml. *u* appears in *-aldust* (27), *Attanus* (90), *gairus* [MS. *gamaus*] (292), *kairus* (623), *pilus* (814), *rightus* (1220), and *purlude* (608).

¹ Not especially examined by Skeat in his edition, the morphology was examined in some detail by Trautmann, pp. 4-6.

² Specifically noted as a S.W. archaism by the *NED*, s. v. *toe*, 1 β and in introductory comment to the same.

³ For inf. see 4, 44, 61, 80, 122, 140, 152, 199, 252, 284, etc.; for plu. of verbs (all forms), see 1, 2, 5, 20, 21, 64, 76, 81, 83, 125, 126, 151, 234, etc.; for ppl. of str. vbs., see 10, 13, 51, 54, 65, 76, 270, 292, etc.; inflected inf. 192 (*tó séonne*).

From the foregoing analysis of the original dialect of *Al. A* and *Al. B* — with special reference to the phonology — it seems possible to arrive at the following conclusion as to the original home of the poems:

1. The development of OE. *ȳ* and *ēo* > *u*, *ue*, *eu*, *eo*, and *o* point to a Western vs. Eastern origin, as do the inflectional vowels, especially the appearance of *u*, sporadically in *Al. A*, frequently in *Al. B*.

2. The development of OE. *ā* + nasal (unlengthened) > *a*, *o* only rarely, OE. *āng* > *ong*, late W.S. *ȳ* > *u*, *alder* for *elder*, together with the presence of *fale* vs. *fele* (OE. *feola*), the predominance of *h*-forms of the personal pronouns, and the preservation of such forms as *biggen*, *leggen*, and *seggen* point to the South-West Midlands, especially Gloucestershire.¹

II. The Scribal Transmission of *Al. A* and *Al. B*

While there is no doubt that the original dialect of *Al. A* and *Al. B* is impure, to the extent at any rate of not being quite typical of either the S. W. or the W.Ml. (occupying, as it does, a position more or less between the two), there are other aspects of the language of these fragments not easily explained as a blend of two neighboring dialects. The following paragraphs are given over to an analysis of the non-South-Western or non-W.Ml. elements, with an attempt to interpret these in terms of scribal transmission.

1. *Alexander A*

Al. A appears to be removed by at least two transcriptions from the original, which, as already suggested (p. 78 above), cannot have been composed far from Hereford.

¹ A speech-complex suggesting Miss Serjeantson's 'A' (*art. cit.*, pp. 65, 66).

i. The Northern Transcriber

The first transcript of the poem would seem to have been made by a Northerner, whose traces, though not numerous, are none the less clear:

(a) The addition of *i* (*y*) after a vowel as a sign of length is characteristic of the North. dialects.¹ There seem to be seven instances of this orthographic device: *baile* (OE. *balu*), A 672 vs. *bale*, A 56, 504, 1168; *faire*² (OE. *faran*), A 1185 vs. *fare*, A 111, 113, 158 and 9 ×; ? *gairus* (OE. *gār*), A 292;³ *heire* (OE. *hār*), A 543 vs. *here*, A 699;⁴ *plais* (OFr. *place*), A 773 vs. *place*, A 255, 333, 445 and 13 ×; *royte* (OE. *rotian* 'to rot'), A 1195.⁵

Closely related to this phenomenon is the reverse process, that is, the tendency (resulting from a not unnatural confusion) to write *a* for *ai* (*ei*) < OE. *æg*, *eg*. This phenomenon first appears in the North in the course of the fourteenth century,⁶ and is fairly richly represented here: *fath* (OFr. *feid*), A 634 vs. *faith*, A 948; *grapes* (ON. *greiða*), A 254: *grathes*, A 719⁷ vs. *graithes*, A 409, 472, 546, 882: *graiþed*, A 258, 417, *graythed*, A 26; *grathliche* (ON. *greiðliga*), A 562: *grathlich*, A 916: *grathly*, A 711, 1194 vs. *graitlich*, A 858, 1012; *graiþh*, A 863; and *strane*, A 349 (unless this be merely a bad spelling) ⁸ vs. *strained*, A 416.

¹ Luick, § 401, n. 3 (p. 418), § 434 (p. 482) and Jordan, § 19, p. 36 ('Eine dritte Art. . .')

² MS. *fare*, with *i* above and between *a* and *r*.

³ See note to line, p. 222 below.

⁴ But cf. *NED*, *hair*, sb., I, 1. γ, for possible influence of 'haire' 'haircloth.'

⁵ MS. *rotte*: *royte* suprascript. On p. 216, n. 6, *ed. cit.*, Skeat suggests that *royte* may be a miswriting of *rotye* of the earlier copy; this is a possible interpretation (see *NED*, *rot*, vb.), but in view of the other words with orthographic *i* such a conjecture seems uncertain.

On the possibility of MS. *raid* as pt. of 'ride,' see note to *Al. A* 231, p. 221 below.

⁶ Luick, § 434, pp. 482 ff. ('Beseitigung der *i-diphthonge* im äussersten Norden') and Jordan, § 132, pp. 123, 124.

⁷ For *a*-spellings in north, see *NED*, *graiþh*, v.

⁸ Cf. *NED*, s. v. *strain*, vb.,¹ 18, where this spelling appears as a noun form.

(b) The rounding of $\bar{o}$ to u [$\bar{u}$] began in the North in the thirteenth century and from the fifteenth century on was current in Scotland:¹ *buke* (OE. *bōc*), A 457,² and possibly *wus* (OE. *wōs*), A 712, 813.³

(c) *Wraught* for *wrought*

Probably to the North. transcriber is due the sporadic appearance of *wraught* (OE. *warhte*, *warht* < *wyrcan*), A 527, 629, 722, 1090 vs. *wrought* (OE. *worhte*, *worht*), A 76, 187, 194 and 12 ×.⁴

(d) Miscellaneous

In addition to the phonological indications already considered are the *th*-forms of the pronoun (noted pp. 85, 86 above),⁵ the non-palatalized *myckle* (A 1153) vs. the frequent *micel*, *much* of *Al. A* and *Al. B*;⁶ *barm* (Angl. *barm*), A 1004, vs. *berem* [-*chaunce*] (WS. *bearm*),⁷ A 971; and very likely the pt. pl. *baren* (OE. *bǣr-*) A 435⁸ vs. pt. sg. *bore*, A 1113, 1123 (vowel < pp.); *chase* (OE. *ceās* < *cēosan*), A 36 vs. *chees*, A 321;⁹ and *firre* (O.E. *fierre*), A 1176.¹⁰

In the morphology the few North. pr. part. forms in *-and* are noteworthy:¹¹ *glisiande* (OE. *glisian*), A 180, 534, 1194 vs.

¹ Luick, § 406, pp. 426, 427; Jordan, § 54, p. 77.

² MS. *booke*, *u* suprascript.

³ Not known as a spelling to the *NED*, s. v. *ooze*, sb.¹; still it occurs twice here.

⁴ See Luick, § 408, n. 3, p. 436. The *au*-forms here noted are to be distinguished from W.Ml. *a*-forms discussed Jordan, § 35, note 1, p. 56.

⁵ Against these being the work of the Elizabethan scribe is the fact that the n. pl. is all but uniformly *he* (vs. *pei*). Were the Elizabethan scribe out to modernize the pronouns, one would expect more thorough work.

⁶ *Much* of *Al. A* is probably due to the Standard of the Elizabethan scribe (pp. 92 ff. below).

⁷ See *NED*, *barm*, sb.¹ and *barm-team*.

⁸ See *NED*, *bear*, v. for pt. pl. with vowel of pt. sg. in North. One cannot assume here an East-Saxon $\bar{a}$ < OE. $\bar{a}$ (Luick, § 362, p. 345).

⁹ For wk. pt. *chused*, A 140, see p. 81 above.

¹⁰ Jordan, § 70, p. 89; for *furre*, see p. 84 above and for *farre*, p. 93 below.

¹¹ Serjeantson, *art. cit.*, pp. 198 (14), 199.

glising, A 698; *likand*, A 192; *livand*, A 992 vs. *libbing*, A 790 and *living*, A 851; *shynand*, A 631, 732 vs. *schynyng*, A 1059.

ii. The Elizabethan Scribe

The Elizabethan scribe whose unique copy of the poem we possess would seem to have had before him a S.W.Ml. text touched up here and there by a Northerner. His interest in, and certain aspects of his treatment of, the text have already been noticed (pp. 3-8 above); here attention is directed to his uneven adaptation of the text to the spelling of his day (the beginning of the modern Standard) and his free dropping of obsolete endings (see pp. 87, 88 above).

a. The *ea*-Diagraph

Most immediately striking to the eye of the reader is the abundance of words spelled with the diagraph *ea*, used in the modern Standard to express a number of different sounds.¹ Among words of native origin we find: *deale* (OE. *dēlan*) A 348; *dealed*, A 143; *deare* (OE. *dēor*), A 1056 vs. *dere*, A 309, 641, 645 and *dereworth passim*; *death* (OE. *dēap*) A 1067, 1069, 1159 vs. *deth*, A 247, 373, 926; *Easte* (OE. *ēast*), A 1212; *freaten*² (p.p. < OE. *fretan*), A 1157; *greate* (OE. *grēat*), A 59, 66, 77, 568, 1194 vs. *grete*, A 182, 254, 311 and 14 ×; *greate* (OE. *grētan*), A 705 vs. *greete*, A 580, 1125; *yea* (OE. *3ēa*), A 1056, 1060, 1068; *heate*³ (OE. *hātan*), A 1106; *leapes* (OE. *hlēapan*), A 1184; *leade* (OE. *lēdan*), A 60, 156, 425, 941, 1144, 1197, vs. *ledes*, A 588; *leader*, A 419; *leame* (OE. *lēoma*), A 1078 vs. *leme*, A 774; *leave* (OE.

¹ Cf. Wright, *Elem. Histor. New Engl. Gramm.*, § 19, pp. 14, 15, and Luick, § 62, n. 1, pp. 91, 92. On the history of this spelling in the sixteenth century (and later) see A. J. Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation*, Part I, p. 77 (London, 1869); O. Jespersen, *Modern English Gramm.* Pt. I, p. 77 ff. (§ 3. 242 ff.), Heidelberg, 1909; Jordan, § 281, p. 240 (cf. § 18, pp. 34, 35).

² A testimonial of the pronunciation *freten* [*friten*?] in the sixteenth century; cf. *NED*, *fret*, v¹, 7 for *freate* (3 pl. pr. ind.) in Ascham and *ibid.* *passim* for predominance of weak p.p. with *ē* ('fretted') shortly after this period.

³ See *NED* under *high*, v¹.

lāfan), A 245 vs. *leve* (OE. *lēaf*, f.), A 758; *meane* (OE. *ge-māne*), A 518, 696; *meane* (OE. *mānan*), A 840, 848 vs. *mene*, A 867; *meate* (OE. *mete*), A 1115; *sea* (OE. *sā*), A 483, 535, 1215: *sea*[-foule], A 811; *speake* (OE. *specan*), A 868.

Of French origin occur: *beaste* (AN. *beste*), A 1200; *cease* (AN. *ceser*), A 236, 452, 1033, 1108; *feaste* (AN. *feste*), A 975; *seasoun* (AN. *sesoun*), A 999.¹

b. Final -ee

Too numerous to note in detail are the instances of *ee* for final -e as in *bee*, *mee*, *see*, *thee*, *wee*, *yee*; the occurrence of this, however, may be safely attributed to the Elizabethan scribe.²

c. *er* > *ar*

The change in many words *e* + tautosyllabic *r* (*er*) to *ar* began in the ME. period, but this does not appear to have been completed until the middle of the fifteenth century and did not become fashionable until the reign of Elizabeth:³ *farly* (OE. *fārlic*), A 1050 vs. *ferlich*, A 1015; *farre* (positive, OE. *feorr*), A 532, 550, 709, 854: *farre* (comp.), A 244, 319:⁴ *farforthe*, A 793; *mark* (OE. *mearc*), A 626, 767; *mark* (OE. *mearcian*), A 497: *marked*, A 932 vs. *merken*, A 284; *marred* (OE. *merran*), A 1041; *marveil* (OFr. *merveil*), A 1190; *starre* (OE. *steorra*), A 1046: *starres*, A 1085 vs. *sterre* A 1053, 1055, 1059, 1063: *sterres*, A 630, 635; *warre* (AN. *werre*), A 1211 vs. *werre*, A 3, 66, 112, and 8 ×. Here note should be made of the pt. of 'to fare' (OE. *faran*): *farde*, *fared* < OE. *fērde* (*fēran*, intrans.)

¹ As to these and any of the above, it cannot be denied that individual *ea*-spellings may have been native to the fourteenth-century author, but the large number of words spelled thus argues against such a conclusion.

² Some of these have remained in the Standard, others have been given up; see Wright, *Elem. Histor. New Engl. Gramm.* § 20, p. 15; Ellis, *loc. cit.*

³ Jespersen, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 197, § 6. 31; Luick, § 430, pp. 477 ff.; Jordan, § 67, p. 87 and esp. § 270, p. 232; Wyld, *Hist. Mod. Colloq. Engl.*, pp. 212-222, esp. p. 216; Wright, *Elem. Histor. New Engl. Gramm.* § 110.

⁴ For *u*-, *e*-, and *i*-forms, see pp. 84, 91 above.

The *farde*-forms (A 305, 402, 434 and 9 ×) may be due to the intermediate North. scribe,¹ but the spelling *fared* (A 62, 79, 263, 818) is probably fairly late sixteenth-century.² The earlier, original spelling is preserved in *ferde*, A 370 and *ferd*, catchword to *farde*, A 807. Besides the above words showing only *a*-spellings or *a* and *e* alternating, should be noted the considerable number of words ultimately conspicuous in the change *er* > *ar*, but which are here preserved in their earlier form, unmodernized: *derk* (OE. *deorc*), A 714; *3erd* (OE. *gerd*), A 481; *hert* (OE. *heorte*), A 39, 75; *sterve* (OE. *steorfan*), A 445.³

Granted that certain of the forms and spellings discussed above might have existed in the S.W.-W.Ml. original (where they would stand as sporadic or anomalous forms), their considerable total argues against such a theory and stands in favor of the view that the extant text of *Al. A* has passed from the S.W.-W.Ml. to the North (N.Ml.), and that, in a thus modified form, it was heavily colored by the spellings and the grammatical forms of the Elizabethan scribe whose transcript alone has survived.

The Fifteenth-Century Scribe of *Alexander B*

As we have already seen (pp. 8 ff. above), *Al. B* is preserved in a fifteenth-century MS. Compared with *Al. A* the text has suffered comparatively little at the hands of the scribe; the latter has done but little to adapt the language of the text to his own dialect. Here and there, however, he appears to have

¹ See *NED*, *fare*, v¹, introductory remarks, yet note example from G. Turberville, *s. v.*, II, 7; see also *NED*, *s. v. fere*, v.¹

² *Fared* spellings are not noted in the *NED* earlier than the late sixteenth century (Foxe, *s. v.*, II, 4 and Spenser, *s. v.*, I, 2. f.).

³ It is interesting to compare these with the number of *ar*-forms apparently native to the dialect of the poet of *Sir Gawain*: *start(e)* (OE. **stertan*); *charre* (OE. *cerran*), *3arrande* (OE. **georran*); *marre* (OE. *merran*); *warþ* (OE. *weorþan*, infl. ON. *varpa?*). Cf. Luick, § 430, n. 1, pp. 478, 479: 'Die frühesten *a*-Schreibungen finden sich im Norden in . . . den Yorkshirer Urkunden von 1393 und den schottischen von 1385 an, im nördlichen Mittelland in . . . Gaw [ain] . . .'

introduced spellings of his own several of which are of special interest in that these reflect certain sound-changes in progress in the language in the early fifteenth century.

i (y) vs. *e* or *u* appears frequently for the post-tonic vowel in final syllables:¹ *-ide* (12, 217, 109, 1065), *-il* (754), *-in* (-yn) (99, 320, 361, 715, 875), *-ir* (-ire) (15, 152, 335), *opir* (*passim*), *-is* (-ys) (7, 40, 53, 57, 251, 305, 306, 338, 343, 362, 402, 538, 577, 644, 647, 683, 923), *-ist* (30, 77), and *-yb* (370, 407). It is to be noted that these *i*-spellings prevail in the rubrics inserted by the scribe, mainly beneath the illuminations.²

bi (636), *hirde* (209, 812), *live* (579), and *siee* (126), *sien* (49) probably point to the transition of [ē] to [i],³ while the diphthongization of ME. *ī* to *ai* through *ei* appears in the spellings *bei* (339, 342, 509), *beiself* (511) vs. *bi*, *bin*, *biself*; *forpei* (313, 399, 558, 657, 1068) vs. *forpi* (*forpy*); (?) *worpei* (746) vs. *worpi* (25), and *saide* (86) vs. *side* (297).⁴

The following anomalous forms are probably not to be regarded as scribal errors, but testify rather to colloquial pronunciations: *gol* (575) vs. *gold* (*passim*), *is* for *his* in 167, 602, 625, 731, 860, *hiddem* (51) for *hidd(en)* (*h*)*em*,⁵ *haute* (728)⁶ for *auter* ('altar'), *holde* (27)⁶ vs. *olde* (*passim*), and *offrin* (718) vs. *offringe*;⁶ *smart* (1063)⁸ may be the author's, but it is, in my opinion, more likely the scribe's.

¹ In the fourteenth century characteristically Northern (Jordan, § 135, p. 126) and later more widespread (Wyld, *Hist. Mod. Coll. Eng.*, ed. cit., pp. 267 ff.).

² See pp. 9, 10 above.

³ Wyld, *op. cit.*, pp. 206, 207; see A. Kihlbom, *A Contribution to the Study of Fifteenth Century English* (Uppsala diss., 1926), p. 64.

⁴ Wyld, *op. cit.*, pp. 223, 224, for other early examples.

⁵ For a similar colloquial (presumably early, though undated) spelling, see Wyld, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

⁶ *h-* by confusion arising from a growing tendency toward psilosis (cf. *is* for *his* above).

⁷ For early examples of *n* for *η*, see Wyld, *op. cit.*, pp. 289, 290.

⁸ Note *er* > *ar* in *Al. A*, p. 93 above.

5. METRE

The metre of both fragments is the ME. unrhymed alliterative long line, the precise structure of which is much in dispute, that is, whether the line consists of four or seven main stresses.¹ Without attempting to analyze or pass judgment upon the inner structure of the verse, the alliteration itself may be described as follows:

The normal scheme of the alliteration of *Al. A* and *Al. B* is *a a/ a x*:

Yee þat *lengen* in *londe*, / *lordes* and ooþer (A 1)

Hurde *tippinge telle* / and *toknyng*e wiste (B 14)

but departures from this practice are found in both poems.²

Examples of the omission of one of the alliterating words in the first half-line are: *Al. A* 40, 52, 75, 99, 190, 407 and 439 (unless *with* alliterates), 536 (unless *Hee* or *how* alliterate), 557, 565 (unless *Hee* or *hym* alliterate), 597 (unless *-ever* in *Where-ever* alliterates), 632, 653 (unless *Wil* alliterates), 677, 709 (unless *fro* alliterates), 730, 793, 807, 895, 928, 931, 942, 1061, 1082, 1086 (unless *art* alliterates), 1088, 1140, 1160, 1202, 1235, 1247; *Al. B* 11, 12, 22, 47, 80, 81, 144 (unless *bi* alliterates), 194 (825, 1083), 229 (*gr:g*, unless alliteration is *m* with *may* alliterating), 302, 377 (unless *ar* alliterates), 381 (unless *hit* alliterates), 402 (unless *don* alliterates), 426 (unless *ben* alli-

¹ For discussion and literature, see H. L. Savage, *St Erkenwald: A Middle English Poem* (Yale Studies in English LXXII, New Haven, 1926), pp. xlv and 85, 86; add G. R. Stewart, jr, 'The Meter of *Piers Plowman*,' *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n* XLII (1927), 113-128.

² Set forth in varying degree of detail by Skeat in the Introductions to his editions; by Trautmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-24; by F. Rosenthal, *Anglia* I (1877), 414 ff. *passim* (*Al. A* only); and most recently and most fully by K. Schumacher, *Studien über den Stabreim in der Mittelengl. Alliterationsdichtung* (Bonner Beiträge zur Engl. Philol. XI, Bonn/Rh., 1914), pp. 21, 22, 47, 48, 58, 59, 69, 75, 83, 84, 97, 116, 122, 130, 138, 139, 150, 157, 162, 180, 181 (no Index). For present purposes, however, I have on the whole found my own collectanea more useful than those of my predecessors.

terates), 437, 558 (unless *him* alliterates), 627 (unless *-fore* in *wherefore* alliterates), 695 (unless *hure* alliterates), 774, 815, 932, 944 (unless *were* alliterates).

In each poem there are apparently several examples of three alliterating words in the first half-line: *Al. A* 20, 48, 70, 84, 85, 90 (*-tan-* of *Atlanus* alliterating), 91, 92, 150, 156, 167, 253, 263, 413, 466, 515, 550, 659, 712, 715, 725 (if *whan* and *was* alliterate), 729, 742 (if *stede* alliterates), 848 (if *may* alliterates as in 872, 970, 1035), 1059, 1220, 1233; *Al. B* 41, 61 (*-sif* usually alliterates), 64, 324, 528, 642, 678, 683, 938, 943 (if *wolde* alliterates), 947, 990, 1065.

In *Al. A* there are at least two examples, in *Al. B* one example, of transverse (or cross) alliteration:

But camme too þat lovely too kenne of her lore (A 750)

I had minde on my slepe by meting of sweven (A 969)

Of bodi wente þei bar wiþoute any wede (B 6)

Al. A 1069 may also have been intended by the poet as an example of this type of metrical elaboration:

That I shall drye þe death in dreedefull deds stounds.

In *Al. A*, the following lines, not otherwise suspect, are defective metrically: (1) lacking an alliterating word in the second half-line: 58 (see note to line), 577, 648, 699, 813, 884; (2) like (1) but with three alliterating words in the first half-line: 172, 417, 529.

Previous students have stressed the comparative regularity of the metre and the purity of the alliteration of these poems; they have pointed out that but little liberty is taken with the alliteration and that with few exceptions¹ only identical consonants and consonant-groups alliterate. This supposed similarity in metrical practice has been for these investigators one of the chief reasons for thinking *Al. A* and *Al. B* to be by the same author.²

¹ Noted p. 100 below.

² See especially Skeat, *Al. B*, ed. cit., p. xii, § 10.

Now there are two points in which the metrical practice of *Al. A* differs quite markedly from that of *Al. B*. The first concerns the relative frequency in the use of visual alliteration in the two poems. In both poems there are a certain number of lines in which the alliterating syllable is an unstressed prefix (sometimes the unstressed or less stressed element in a compound). This is just about twice as frequent in *Al. A* as in *Al. B*:¹

Al. A: *At-* of *Attenieins* (903; cf. 938); *As-* of *Assyriens* (109); *be-* (457, 618, 1189), *bi-* (1181; cf. 627); *con-* (625, 744, 865, 961); ? *-cummen* (65); *de-* (613, 692, 883, 1137); *en-* (908 vs. 287); *for-* (22, 679, 684), *fore-* (1196); *-foule* (811); *me-* of *methynk* (964); *mis-* (1177); *or-* (738); *re-* (88); *-swer* of *answer* (567); *-water* (527); *un-* (34). Besides the above, it may be noted that in the context stress on the following words is not altogether natural: *fell* (890), *hue* (869), *hur* (988).

Al. B: *-couth* (979); *com-* (125); *de-* (505); *di-* (670); *her-* of *heraftur* (363); *-saide* of *forsaide* (19 vs. 112); *sos-*, *sus-* (290, 362, 620, 917); *-time* of *sumtime* (920b).

The second point of difference in metrical practice referred to above concerns the application of such a 'rule' as 'only like consonants and consonant-groups alliterate with one another.' As an example of the first:

Yee þat lengen in londe, lordes and ooper (A 1),
and of the second:

To be *pro*ved for *pris* and *prest* of hemselve (A 6).

Now in *Al. B* there are 25 lines in which a simple consonant alliterates with a consonant-group composed of itself + a liquid, e.g.

And for no bestene blod þat any burn quelleþ (B 611)
and

To Bacus þe balful men bringen in temple (B 714).

¹ Considered, but not in detail, by Schumacher *passim*.

The remaining examples, with their alliterating schemes, follow: note that consonant + *l* never alliterates with consonant + *r*.

b: bl: b (640, 1124)

br: br: b (175, 723)

br: br: br: b (683)

c: c: cl (833)

cr: cr: c (414)

f: fl: Ph(f) (138, 146, 688)

f: fl: fl (334)

gl: g: gl (391)

gr: g: g (84, 274, 575)

gr: g: gr (193, 525, 824)

p: pr: p (716)

st: str: str (530)

Tr: t: t (793)

tr: tr: t (132, 710)

w: w: wr (387)

The practice here described is, of course, in no sense abnormal and is, indeed, characteristic of Germanic alliterative verse; what is remarkable, and in my opinion significant, is that the alliteration of simple consonant with the same consonant + liquid or nasal is almost ten times more frequent in *Al. A* than in *Al. B*.¹ In *Al. A*, besides this far greater frequency, there is also considerable freedom in alliterating groups with *l* or *r* with one another; furthermore, a somewhat greater variety is achieved by the use of the group *kn-*. The schemes of the following lines² illustrate these points:

c: c: kn (200, 261, 509, 541, 554, *c: cr: cl* (1133)

597, 989, 1227, 1244)

kl: kn: k (476, 544, 1223)

c: kn: cr (100, 662)

p: pl: pr (442, 1142)

pl: pr: pr (343, 773, 1085).

As already suggested, the alliterating practice in both poems is quite normal, but it is likewise quite different, at least in the last matters under consideration. This difference, if significant in the problem of authorship, points to the work of two poets rather than one.

¹ E. g., 10, 15, 17, 26, 28, 38, 47, 51, 56, 73, 79, 80, 89, 91, 97, 98, and about 240 times.

² Included in the computation in the preceding note.

In both poems there are a few examples of genuine irregularity in alliteration: ¹ *br:pr* (B 1075); *Ph:w* (A 439, 884); *w:wh* (A 152, 725, 1071; B 185); *qu:w* (A 958); *h: vowel* (A 529, 699; B 155, 794, 799, 842, perhaps 363, 1137); *sch:s* (B 635); *s:ch* (A 867, 1019); *c:Chr* (A 24); *k* perhaps: *sk* (B 81); *t:th* (A 211, 1204); *d:dw* (A 945). In comparison with many of the alliterative romances, this irregularity appears to be comparatively slight.²

6. DATE OF COMPOSITION

It is idle to attempt, at present at least, to fix the actual date of either *Al. A* or *Al. B*. External evidence is altogether lacking; for both fragments are merely more or less faithful translations of Latin texts long available.

The complete absence of rhyme, late and, in the case of *Al. A*, vicissitudinous transmission, and uncertainty concerning the refinements of the metrical (syllabic) structure deprive us of the useful test of the inflexional *-e*; the frequent preservation of *-en*, however, suggests that *-e* was still pronounced by the authors of the poems. Trautmann (*op. cit.*, p. 33) would date both fragments 1370, but certainty is impossible, and the most one can say is that there seems to be nothing in the original language to preclude dating the texts in the middle third of the fourteenth century. It may be remarked that the *NED* dates quotations from these poems 1340–1370, e. g. more recently for *Al. A*, see *NED* under *work*, vb. 21 and for *Al. B* under *weye*, sb. 1. It is tempting to attach importance to the preservation of a rather considerable number of past participles with *i-* (OE. *ge-*),³ but this may quite as well reflect Southern provenience as antiquity. Too little is known about the

¹ I have not considered suspect lines.

² Cf. Schumacher, in pages cited above.

³ A 117, 181, 186, 191, 203, *et passim*; B 63, 64, 100, 252, 291, *et passim*; note inf. *ilere* (A 325), *iknowe* (A 607).

technique of the alliterative poems as a class to warrant deductions from the comparative purity of the alliteration. The frequent appearance of *d* (apparently for *ð*) in the manuscript of *Al. A* (see page 5 above) is puzzling. Is the Elizabethan scribe perpetuating a MS. tradition? or had his antiquarian interests led him to OE. and early ME. MSS in which *ð* occurred, whence to be adopted by him and employed here?

Neither fragment can probably at present be dated more closely than *ca.* 1340-1370.

7. THE DICTION AND STYLE OF *ALEXANDER A* AND *ALEXANDER B*

In a contribution to the solution of the 'Huchown question' C. Reicke published considerable collectanea illustrative of recurring phrases and tags in a number of the alliterative romances (not including *Al. A* and *Al. B*),¹ and despite its limitations, this essay constitutes the most comprehensive survey yet undertaken of this important feature of the diction of the poems of the alliterative school.² The following paragraphs are devoted to one or two aspects of word and phrase in *Al. A* and *Al. B*, partly in further illustration of the style

¹ C. Reicke, *Untersuchungen über den Stil der alliterierenden Gedichte Morte Arthure, The Destruction of Troy, The Wars of Alexander, The Siege of Jerusalem, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Königsberg diss., 1906.

² Reicke's study was preceded by an earlier work of more limited scope, yet not altogether superseded: J. M. H. Fuhrmann, *Die Alliterierenden Sprachformeln in Morris' Early English Alliterative Poems and in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Kiel diss.), Hamburg, 1886. Limited to words in alliteration is A. Brink, *Stab und Wort im Gawain* (Morsbach's Stud. z. Engl. Philol. LIX), Halle, 1920. M. Trautmann, *Ueber Verfasser und Entstehungszeit einiger Alliterirender Gedichte des Altenglischen* (Leipzig habilitationsschrift), Halle, 1876, is extremely limited, while H. Willert, *Die Alliterierenden Formeln der Englischen Sprache* (Halle, 1909) and F. P. H. Prick van Wely, 'Apt Alliteration's Artful Aid' (notes on Willert), *Englische Studien* XLVII (1913), 185 ff., give but passing attention to ME. formulae. K. Regel 'Die Alliteration im Lajamon,' *Germanist. Studien* I (1872), 171-246, is concerned with small-scale formulae of the OE. type.

of the alliterative romances, partly as evidence useful in determining the authorship of *Al. A* and *Al. B*.

In his edition (1867) of *Al. A* (pp. xxx-xxxii) Skeat attempted to show that the author of *Al. A* and of *William of Palerne* were the work of one and the same author, who was not the author of *Al. B*. Trautmann (1876, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-17) countered this view with the conclusion that *W. of P.* was not by the author of *Al. A*, and that *Al. A* and *Al. B* were by the same author (*op. cit.*, p. 33). Skeat accepted Trautmann's result in his edition (1878) of *Al. B* (pp. xi, xii), reaffirming this opinion in his edition (1886) of the *Wars of Alexander* (pp. ix, x, *ed. cit.*, p. 56, n. 3, above). For present purposes we may ignore the complicating factor of the authorship of *W. of P.* and centre our attention upon the words and phrases listed by Trautmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 18-21) as pointing to identity of authorship of *Al. A* and *Al. B*. The words cited by Trautmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19) as common to *Al. A* and *Al. B* are as follows:

adouted, alosed, arede, arere, asele, catel, cofli, doute, dreche, gynne [ingenium], *fenke, kenne, launde, lecherie, leme, lite, marke, schalk, spene, tach, targe, uncouth, won* (= wohnung), *won* (= menge).

Ai (ON. *ei*), *nouthe*, and *rathe* are further noted as frequent in *Al. B* and lacking in *Al. A*, *forsothe* as frequent in *Al. A* and lacking in *Al. B*. *Launde*, in point of fact, does not occur in *Al. B*, where, *loc. cit.* (v. 498), the reading is *landus*,¹ and of the remaining words only 3 are in and for themselves significant: *adouted* (adapt. OFr. *redouter*), *cofli* (OE. *cāflīce*), and *fenked* (OFr. *vencre*); the remainder are either so common in ME. as to be valueless as criteria in the question of authorship or else are so distributed in the poems as to count against Trautmann's

¹ Skeat's edition had not yet appeared; Trautmann had perforce to rely upon Stevenson's faulty text where *launde* is the reading.

argument. *Adouted* occurs 3 × in *Al. A* and twice in *Al. B*, elsewhere apparently only in the *Destruction of Troy* 1097 and *Guy of Warwick* (3466).¹ Outside of 8 × in *Al. A* and 5 × in *Al. B*, *cofli* seems to occur only in *Garwain* 2011, *Purity* 1428, and Layamon's *Brut* 1705; rare in ME., this word is frequent in and almost characteristic of *Al. A* and *Al. B*. *Fenked* occurs 4 × in *Al. A* and, elsewhere, once in *Al. B* and in the *Seven Sages of Rome* 2024 (*vencud*). The occurrence of 3 such relatively rare words in *Al. A* and *Al. B* may or may not be significant, but on the whole one can obviously attach little importance to Trautmann's list.² Although some fifty per cent of the vocabulary of *Al. A* is foreign to *Al. B*, and vice versa, this difference is due in a large measure to the difference in subject matter; there is, however, a number of neutral words whose distribution is probably significant: occurring only in *Al. A* is *graithliche* 'quickly' 6 × and the adv. *graith* once;³ *trie* 'fine' 5 ×; *mënskfull* 5 ×; *seemelich* 'good,' 'fair' occurs 31 × in *Al. A*. but only twice in *Al. B*; while *mensken* (vb.) occurs 5 × in *Al. B* but never in *Al. A*.

Both poems make liberal use of synonyms for 'man' 'warrior,'⁴ but the words used vary considerably in the two fragments: *burn*, *gome*, and *seg* are almost equally common in both; but while *freke*, *rink*, and *wight* occur in *Al. A* and *Al. B* in the proportion 10:5, 13:7, 13:4 respectively, *lud* and *weie* appear in a proportion favoring *Al. B* of 50:36 and 18:11. *Schalk* occurs 4 × in *Al. A* against 2 × (*shawe?*) in *Al. A*, and *hathel*, unknown to *Al. A*, appears 6 × in *Al. B*, to which *apel* (adj.) is likewise peculiar.

¹ Auchinlech MS., E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 42. One would like fuller information on the occurrence of this word in ME.

² It must be remembered that when Trautmann drew up his list, he had available neither Strattmann's dictionary, nor Mätzner's, nor the *NED*.

³ The verb *graithen* occurs commonly in both poems.

⁴ For discussion of these words in *Garwain* and other alliterative romances, in which they abound, see Brink, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-16.

Finally note may be made of the descendants of OE. *cweðan* and *hātan*: *quath* (*quoith*, *quod*) appears 6 × in *Al. A*, but never in *Al. B*, and forms of *hatan* occur 18 × in *Al. A* vs. 1 × in *Al. B* (*hizte*, 1064),¹ for which *Al. B* prefers *callen* (13 × vs. 2 × in *Al. A*).

Alliterative Phrase and Tag

Besides what he regarded as significant and characteristic words, Trautmann collected a considerable number of alliterative phrases and formulae, which struck him as characteristic of both poems and peculiar to them; of these he says: '*die grosse mehrzahl der angeführten wendungen ist nirgends als in den beiden Alexanderbruchstücken zu finden*' (*op. cit.*, p. 20). This is far from the case, and illustration of the conventional character of most of these sheds light upon the diction of the alliterative poets. The degree of similarity between the parallels adduced by Trautmann is unequal, and it is not always clear just what he had in mind as points in common; the alliteration of given words distinguishes the more elaborate or significant:

1. grant: grace: god²

with

For no *grace* hur grete *god graunt* ne might (*Al. A* 539)
pei (sc. your gods) *graunte* no *grace* (*Al. B* 709)

compare

Iff our *goddess* wold *graunt* þat þu *grace* hade (*Troy* 224)
þat hym *grauntede* of *grace* þat gifte for to haue
(*ib.* 801)

And ouer *goddess* þe (tibi) *graunt* *grace* of þi hele (*ib.* 844)
Thus our *goddess* the (tibi) *graunttes* of hor *grace* now
(*ib.* 5350)

¹ Not to be confused with *hizten* 'adorn' in the same text.

² The spellings here and in the following headings are according to the main form of the respective words as given in the *NED*.

we thanke shuld oure *goddess*,
 þat hase *grauntid* us þat *grace* of þe gome Ector
 (*ib.* 8832, 8833)
 Thurgh the *graunt* of your *goddess* (*ib.* 9849)

2. leng: land

with

Yee þat *lengen* in *londe* (*Al. A* 1)
 3if we *lengede* in 3oure *land* (*Al. B* 872)

compare

For þou may *leng* in þy *londe* (*Gaw.* 412)
 þou wast *lenged* in þe *lond* (*Jos. of Arim.* 425)
 Ne heo knowe not in the *lond* forþi þei moten *lenge*
 (*ib.* 603)
 To haue *lengit* in his *lond* (*Troy* 9756)
 He was *lengyng* in *lond* (*ib.* 10627)
 In this *lond* for to lyve *lengyng* togedur (*ib.* 12349).¹

3. scathe: scape

with

With *skathe* were þei skoumfyt, *skape* þei ne myght
 (*Al. A* 86)
 For *skape* of the scorpionus *askape* þei ne mi3hte
 (*Al. B* 159)

compare

If he *skape skapelese* (*Awnters Arth.*, 472)
 To be sclaundret of þi *skathe*, & þou *skape* noght (*Troy* 834)
 To *skape* out of *skathe* and sklaunder to falle (*ib.* 1810)
 All the *skathes* thai *skepe* of þo shire hylles (*ib.* 12700)
 þat he *skope* fro the *skath* of thies skathell men (*ib.* 13130)
 And *skapid* fro Askathes, þat hym *skathe* did (*ib.* 13431)
 And the *skathe* of Aschates, þat he *skapt* fro (*ib.* 13514)

¹ For *lengen*: *launde* ('glade'), see *Parl. Three Ages* 199.

Thus I *skoþe* fro the *skathe* with skyrme of my hondes
(*ib.* 13541).¹

4. lordship: latch

with

And *lordship* of Larisse *laught* too his will (*Al. A* 131)
The *lordship* of Larisse is *lauht* too himselve (*ib.* 161)
Mihte lordshiþe lache (*Al. B* 264)

compare

List us na *lordschips lache* of ledis as oureselfe (*Wars* 4347)

5. dreadful: dragon: draw

with

And in a *dragounes* drem hee *dreew* to þe halle (*Al. A* 982)
Hee drouned as a *dragon dredeful* of noyes (*ib.* 985)
þe *dragoun dreew* him awaie (*ib.* 998)
Dredful dragonus drawen hem þiddire (*Al. B* 156)

compare

Drow evyn to the *dragon*, dressit hym to fight (*Troy* 906)
In a *dredfull* devys, a *dragons* fourme (*Wars* 359)

6. wy (OE. *wiga*), wight (OE. *wiht*): wone (OE. *gewuna*)

with

With all þe *weies* in þe *won* (*Al. A* 164)
If any *wight* in this *wonne* (*ib.* 622)
And for 3e, *weihus*, of þat *won* (*Al. B* 1092)

compare

Thurghe þe wode to þe *wone*, there the *wyese* rystez
(*Morte Arth.* 1300)
Wist no *wy* of þe *wone*, bot Waynor hirselve (*ib.* 4204)

¹ For *skathe*: *shape*, see *Troy* 5569, 8897.

7. Olympias the honorable

with

Olympias þe onorable queene (*Al. A* 576, 738, *et pass.*, and
Al. B 825, 1083)

compare

Olympadas þat honourable lady (*Wars* 223, 1840).¹

8. alosed in land

with

alosed in lond (*Al. A* 139, 577)

alosed in lande (*Al. B* 665)

compare

allosede in londes (*Morte Arth.* 3881)

9. lede: land: alosed

I find no parallel to this obvious combination:

How þe *ludus* of the *land*, *alosed* for gode (*Al. A* 331)

þo þat, *ludus*, in oure *land* *alosed* arn wise (*Al. B* 11112);

nor to the following (10, 11, 12).

10. grede: grith: grace

That þei *gradden* hur *griþ*, his *grace* to have (*Al. A* 151)

Whan 3e *greden* 3our *grace* to graunte 3our wille (*Al. B* 606)

Whan 3e hem *greden* of *griþ* (*ib.* 764),

except 'Hou *grace* he *gradde* and *grace* hadde' in Gower (*C. A.* iii, 445).

¹ In *Troy*, 'honorable' is a favorite epithet for persons whose names begin with a vowel, and is used many times in the course of that poem, e. g., *Ecuba* (8712, 9121, 9164, 9219, 9258, 10482, 11969, 12146); *Ector* (6157, 6306, 6677, 6930, 7074, 7233, 7379, 7455, 7781, 9110, 9725, 9768, 10331, 10470, 10806, 11010, 14006, 14031); *Elan* (6303, 9343, 11840, 12249, 13045); *Orestes* (12947); *Ylion* (8381).

11. grow: grim

hee shall *grow* full *grim* (*Al. A* 858)
 þat is *grimmet igrowe* (*Al. B* 252)

12. stint: stound

So hee *stynted* þat *stounde* (*Al. A* 1079)
 þat I mai *stinte* no *stounde* (*Al. B* 97)

Six sets of passages cited by Trautmann depend for their similarity upon the recurrence of a single word or very simple formula: *adouted*, *agrisen*, *lengen in bliss*, mark 'meet out,' *tach* (*teenful tach*), and *tine*; as *hym leefte thought* (*Al. A* 60) and as *him dere þoute* (*Al. B* 1133),¹ *lengen in bliss* (*Al. A.* 44), *pass ere hee wolde* (*Al. A* 1080), or *he passe wolde* (*Al. B* 1135), and or *hee fare wolde* (*Al. A* 740).² The value of these items as evidence of authorship is doubtful; much depends upon the importance which one cares to attach to such words and phrases.

However, although a large proportion of Trautmann's collectanea is demonstrably conventional to the diction of the alliterative poets and is consequently of far less significance than he thought, there exists between *Al. A* and *Al. B* a very real agreement in phraseology that cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that this similarity in expression, hackneyed though it be, should be attributed to a common author, since in several other respects the stylistic of the two fragments is so markedly, one might say fundamentally, different.

In the first place, there are several phrases in *Al. A* not in *Al. B*, which can be matched in other alliterative romances, a

¹ Paralleled in *Morte Arth.* 1335, 3093 and *Troy* 9957.

² For parallels to tags answering to this formula, see *Troy* 363, 941, 9045, 9047, 10907, 11597, 13333.

phenomenon tending to emphasize the conventionality of the diction of *Al. A* over that of *Al. B*:¹

1. *dolven and ded* (*Al. A* 1026; *Parl. Three Ages* 258; *Morte Arth.* 975), *ded was & dolven* (*W. of P.* 2630, 5280; cf. *deide & was bedolve*, *ib.* 5252).

2. *grete yien and graie* (*Al. A* 182; *Troy* 3772, 3821).

3. *a lioun in a launde* (*Al. A* 520), *as lion on the launde* (*Troy* 10985).

4. *libbing lud* (*Al. A* 790, 992; *Aunt. Arth.*, Thornton MS., 433; *W. of P.* 1690, 3678, 5429).

5. *nied þe night* (*Al. A* 817; *Troy* 9585; *W. of P.* 770, 2599; cf. *nyghes on nyghte*, *Morte Arth.* 451).

6. *passed intoo þe paleis* (*Al. A* 713, 792; *Troy* 8539, 11560, 13004, 13878).

7. *a full speciall speeche* (*Al. A* 594; *Troy* 9964).

8. *too waite at a windowe* (*Al. A* 760; *W. of P.* 3030, cf. 779, 2982, 3300).

Striking, too, in a measure, is the agreement between *Al. A* and *W. of P.* in the four following sets of lines (9, 10, 11, 12):

9. lady: love(ly): latch

As that *ladie* with *love* to *lachen* in armes (*Al. A.* 199)

He wend to have *lauzt* þat *ladie* *loveli* in armes

(*W. of P.* 671).

10. set: serve: to (at) rights

As soone as þei were *sett* and *served* *too-rightes* (*Al. A.* 980)

þat þei nere semli *served* & *sette* at here *rizttes*

(*W. of P.* 4906).

¹ The parallels from *W. of P.* are those collected by Skeat to prove a common authorship of that poem with *Al. A*.

11. (be)time: time: titly thereafter

It *betid* in a *time titly thereafter* (*Al. A* 974)

But þanne *tidde* on a *time titly þerafter* (*W. of P.* 1416).¹

12. þe *nede* of *nigremauncie* hee *nas* nought to *lern* (*Al. A* 460)

Nede nadde 3he namore of *nigramauncy* to *lere*

(*W. of P.* 119).²

Turning from lines and formulae in which the authors of *Al. A* and *Al. B*, but especially of *Al. A*, very evidently make use of phraseology in the main the common property of the poets of the alliterative romances, one is struck by the rather extensive use of tags by the author of *Al. A* to fill out the second half-line.³

Of asides, either by the poet or from the mouth of one of the characters, some are personally expressed:

as I right tell (22), as I here telle (102), as I may tell (848), as I tofore saide (876), as I shall tell (1146), as I tel after (1152), as I fore tolde (1243).⁴

Others are impersonal:

lelli too knowe (127), wisly to knowe (144, 372, 571), prestly to here (171), soothe for too tell (299, 1000), so soothely too showe (875), soothely to mene (867), in ernest to tell (592), faitly to knowe (804), farly too tell (1050), shortly to showe (82), soothely too lere (624).

'As it were' is used three times to express apposition (variation):

a god as it were (568), a shawe as it were (766), hymself as it were (784).

¹ Cf. Thus *tide* hit þat *time* (*Troy* 10833).

² Noted Skeat, *ed. cit.*, p. 239, note to *Al. A.* 460.

³ Trautmann attached due importance to this as a criterion of style (*op. cit.*, p. 10).

⁴ For parallels in other alliterative romances, see Reicke, *op. cit.*, p. 66 (§ xiv).

Adjectival phrases with *to* + inf. are frequent and characteristic:

seemely to knowe (118, 545), grym to beholde (77), hardy to meete (52), choice to beholde (183), moste for too praise (184), lovely to seene (192), so trie (is) to knowe (198), brem to beholde (533), stoute too beholde (734).¹

The following phrases of assurance and admonition may be noted:

trowe yee mowe (503), trowe þou no nooðer (681), ne trowe þou no nooþer (756), trist yee no nooþer (489).

Against the considerable number of tags occurring in *Al. A*, may be noted the almost insignificant number in *Al. B*, and according to quite different formulae:

as we soþ heren (27), as we soþ knowen (451), þat we soþ tellen (459), as 3e sain alle (655), of wham I tolde have (793), of wham þei so tolde (780), þat y told have (813), as 3e deme nouþe (1007), as 3e demen alle (870).

To resume briefly the relation of *Al. A* and *Al. B* to one another in respect to word and phrase: While the rare words *adouted*, *cofli*, and *fenked* might point to a connection between the poems, the rather considerable number of words (independent of the subject-matter) whose employment differs so markedly in each fragment suggests two authors rather than one. Pointing in the same direction is the more hackneyed phraseology and far more extensive use of line-filling tags by the poet of *Al. A* than by the poet of *Al. B*. It would seem almost certain that *Al. A*, by virtue of its extensive use of trite phraseology and transitional formulae,² was composed with a view to a listening rather than a reading audience.³

¹ Cf. Reicke, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 72 for parallels.

² As in vv. 44, 171, 200, 244, 328, 452, 656, 1033, 1146, 1200.

³ See Miss Ruth Crosby's admirable study, *Chaucer and the Custom of Oral Delivery* (unpubl. Radcliffe diss., 1928), esp. pp. 65-99 ('Characteristics of Narrative Intended for Oral Delivery').

But against these marked differences in style between the poems, there remains the fact that ten or a dozen lines and phrases do agree in a most striking fashion, and, however conventional these may be shown to be, their coincidence in two fairly short poems of almost equal length is noteworthy.

8. AUTHORSHIP

Since the author of neither *Al. A* nor *Al. B* is known, the problem of authorship resolves itself into the question as to whether the fragments are the work of one author or two. I think here that it is possible to advance over the opinions of Skeat and Trautmann (see p. 102 above) and conclude very definitely that the author of *Al. A* is not the author of *Al. B*. An examination of the language shows that the original dialect of both poems was of the S.W.Ml., that the poems were written in the region of Gloucestershire (see p. 89 above) and both probably near the middle of the fourteenth century (pp. 100, 101). But here, it seems to me, virtually all similarity ceases; for in diction (pp. 101 ff.), style (pp. 104 ff.), and in alliterating practice (pp. 98 ff.), the technique displayed in the two poems seems incompatible with a single author.

Attention has already been drawn to the somewhat striking recurrence in the poems of two or three rare words (p. 102) and ten or a dozen phrases (pp. 104 ff.). Although it was shown that the latter are in the main commonplaces of the stylistic of the alliterative poets, yet their recurrence within two comparatively short poems so closely related in source tempts one to seek an explanation. While it is entirely possible that we have to do with two separate and distinct poems, composed independently by poets unaware of one another's undertaking,¹ an alternate theory of composition may be proposed, namely,

¹ Such appears to have been the case of the authors of the two 'revenge' continuations of the OFr. *Roman d'Alexandre*; see E. C. Armstrong, *The Authorship of the Vengeance Alixandre and of the Venjançe Alixandre* (Princeton, 1926), p. 51.

that *Al. B* is part of a continuation of the no longer extant poem of which *Al. A* is the beginning. Such a continuator would of course be more or less intimate with the work of his predecessor and in reading over his predecessor's work have caught from him such turns of phrase as might be illustrated by the above-mentioned recurring words and lines. The theory here proposed is not essential to an understanding of the relation of the poems to one another; it does, however, explain rather neatly the details in question. But this and other problems may be better solved by the discovery some day of a complete manuscript or more generous fragments of *Al. A* and *Al. B*.

9. TEXTS

1. THE ENGLISH TEXT

The present edition aims to furnish the reader with an accurate and readable text. Skeat's texts have been read several times against rotographs of the MSS (deposited in the Harvard College Library), and the more obscure passages have been carefully compared with the originals. Several minor errors in the previous editions have thus been eliminated. It has seemed unnecessary to indicate the resolution of MS. abbreviations, especially since Skeat's editions afford very detailed information in this regard.

I have emended only where it seemed clear to me how what I regard as an error came into being; Skeat had already emended most of the purely scribal blunders — chiefly in *Al. B* and arising mainly from the scribes' misreading of letters of like form. Emendations have not been especially signalized in the text though full information is given in the foot-notes. In general I have not included in the body of the text Skeat's conjectural restoration of missing words. These are given in the notes, but their interest and value is limited. In the case of a few words the correct restoration is, however, obvious.

Along with modern capitalization and punctuation¹, it has seemed desirable to observe the present-day typographical distinctions between *u* and *v* and *i* and *j*; *-e* from OFr. *-e(e)* (*-ie*, NE. *-y*) is printed *-é*.

In publishing the text of *Al. A* I have not retained the scribal diacritics already described in detail (p. 5 above); in dealing with the glosses (page 7 above), I have used the gloss for my text only when this appeared to be the older or otherwise superior form — in many instances a decision between gloss and lemma is well nigh impossible. While no effort has been made to rid the text of its Elizabethan spellings (see pp. 92 ff. above), I have occasionally substituted catchwords for the forms in the body of the text where the catchword was obviously closer to the original. In a few instances the text of transcript *a* (see Appendix I below) has been useful for arriving at the older reading. After some deliberation I have restored verses 1074 ff. to their order in the MS. The renumbering of most of the lines from this point to the end (1247) may cause some slight inconvenience, especially in using the *NED*, but since Skeat's restorations and rearrangements are often more than dubious, it has seemed unwise to be bound in this respect to the precedent of his edition.

The treatment of the text of *Al. B* calls for no special comment beyond calling attention to the fact that I have in a number of instances resolved the nota *g* into *-s* rather than *-us* (see pp. 13, 14 above).

2. THE LATIN TEXTS

Parallel to the historical portions of *Al. A* (see pp. 18 ff. above), I have printed Zangemeister's text of Orosius, and to the legendary portions of *Al. A* and to *Al. B* appropriate passages from *Cod. Monac. Lat. 824*.

A word about this Munich manuscript may be of interest.

Codex Monacensis Latinus 824 is a fourteenth-century vellum MS. of 78 folios, 156 mm. × 113 mm. It contains only the *Historia de Preliis* (J²-recension), written in single columns with 20–24 lines on the page. The capitals are occasionally rubricated. Fol. 21–30 are lacking and the missing folios have been supplied by sheets of stiff writing paper. Fol. 21v ends with the words *fecerunt quia plus* (= Hilka, p. 88, 29); fol. 31r begins with *enim nos nostram magnitudinem* (= Hilka, p. 118, 10). At one time this MS. belonged to Pier Vettori (Petrus Victorius), sixteenth-century Florentine humanist whose arms are stamped on the front cover on which is pasted a slip of paper with the words 'Cod. Vict. 165'; on the back of the binding we read 'Storia di Aless. Magno.' The Bavarian State Library no doubt acquired the manuscript ca. 1750 as a result of the activities of that distinguished amateur of books, Elector Karl Theodor.¹ Further details of the history of the manuscript are wanting.

According to Hilka (p. xxv) *Cod. Monac. Lat. 824* (M¹) offers by far the best text of the Latin J²-recension (*so bietet M¹ bei weitem den besten Text*), and insofar as this text follows in the main the wording of J¹, Hilka's appraisal seems to be justified. The text is, however, in no sense faultless, and quite apart from the missing folios the copyist worked carelessly, making a considerable number of minor omissions and at times leaving out longer passages. Fol. 11 is badly rubbed and here and there quite illegible, but elsewhere the hand is clear and neat. While the defects described here and above limit the use to which M¹ can be put in preparing an edition of the J² Latin text, at the same time it has seemed well worth while to print specimens, and especially since the lacuna of fol. 21–30 luckily does not overlap the English texts. For occasional missing words and

¹ See G. Leidinger, 'Die Kgl. Hof- u. Staatsbibliothek in München,' in O. Kronseder's *Lesebuch zur Geschichte Bayerns* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1906), p. 167. On Pier Vettori, see W. Rüdiger, *Petrus Victorius aus Florenz* (Halle, 1896) and F. Niccolai, *Pier Vettori* (Leipzig: Fock, 1914).

clauses I have drawn upon Hilka's text and in the Notes have called attention to readings in *Codex Seitenstettensis XXXI*, now Harvard College Library *MS. Latin 121*, where these appear to be equivalent to the readings of the (lost) J^2 -manuscript utilized by the English poets. Rotographs of fol. 11-6v and 49r-60v are now deposited in the Harvard College Library.

In conclusion I venture to express the opinion that for the detailed study of vernacular translations of Mediaeval-Latin works a critical Latin text is apt to be of limited value — especially, perhaps, for works of fiction in connection with which there would be little incentive for fidelity of reproduction. For example, once the recension of the *Historia de Preliis* which we call J^2 was completed and released to the world, copies were rapidly multiplied, altered, and reworked by scribes with a literary bent. And even if we can recover or reconstruct the author's original words, it is extremely unlikely that these were accessible in any given case to a vernacular translator. In most instances he was no doubt thankful to work from whatever manuscript came into his hands, with alterations and defects of which he would have been gloriously unaware. The chances are, of course, very much against our being able to identify the particular manuscript from which he worked — so it is in the case of *Al. A* and *Al. B*; accordingly, of greater use than a critical text (which, if it ever existed, survived the work of scribes but a short time) is likely to be a faithful edition of some one good manuscript, with variants from as many other manuscripts as time and money allow.

10. ABBREVIATIONS

A few frequently cited works are usually referred to by the following abbreviations:

- Ausfeld Adolf Ausfeld, *Der Griechische Alexanderroman nach des Verfassers Tode herausgegeben von Wilhelm Kroll*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1907.
- E.E.T.S. Early English Text Society, Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., London.
- H or Hilka Alfons Hilka, *Der Altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman nach der Berliner Bilderhandschrift: nebst dem Lateinischen Original der Historia de Preliis (Rezension J²)*. Festschrift für Carl Appel zum 17. Mai 1917. Halle: Niemeyer, 1920.
- Jordan..... Richard Jordan, *Handbuch der Mittenglischen Grammatik. I. Teil: Lautlehre* (Germanische Bibliothek, XII). Heidelberg: Winter, 1925.
- Ж.М.Н.П. Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения.
- Luick..... Karl Luick, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*. Vol. I published through p. 548. Vienna: C. H. Tauchnitz, 1914 ff.
- Meyer Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age* (Bibliothèque Française du Moyen Age IV, V). Paris: Vieweg, 1886.
- NED *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888-1928.
- Pfister Friedrich Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo untersucht und herausgegeben* (Sammlung Mittellateinischer Texte, Nr 6). Heidelberg: Winter, 1913.
- Sackur..... Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudomethodicus...* Halle: Niemeyer, 1898.
- Schumacher Karl Schumacher, *Studien über den Stabreim in der Mittenglischen Alliterationsdichtung* (Bonner Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie XI). Bonn/Rh.: 1914.

- Trautmann. [Friedrich Hermann] Moritz Trautmann, *Ueber Verfasser und Entstehungszeit einiger Alliterierender Gedichte des Altenglischen* [Leipziger Habilitationsschrift]. Halle a/S., 1876.
- Wright Joseph and Elizabeth Mary Wright, *An Elementary Middle English Grammar*. Oxford University Press, 1923.
- Z or Zingerle Oswald Zingerle, *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems. Im Anhang: Die Historia de preliis* (Germanistische Abhandlungen IV). Breslau: Köbner, 1885.

Otherwise I have upon first reference given titles amply and in succeeding references employed easily intelligible abbreviations. As a rule abbreviations such as *op. cit.*, *art. cit.* are not used to refer farther back than the preceding page.

TEXTS

ALEXANDER A

þE GESTES OF þE WORþIE KING AND EMPEROUR, ALISAUNDER OF MACEDOINE

Yee þat lengen in londe, lordes and ooper, (fol. 1v)
 Beurnes or bacheleres, þat boldely thenken
 Outher in werre or in wo wightly to dwell,
 For to lachen hem loose in hur lifetime,
 Or dere thinken to doo deedes of armes 5
 To be proved for pris and prest of hemselve,
 Tend yee tytely to mee and take goode heede.
 I shall sigge forsothe ensaumples ynow
 Of one þe boldest beurn and best of his deedes,
 That ever steede bestrode or sterne was holden. 10

Now shall I carp of a king kid in his time,
 þat had londes and liðes and lordshipes feole;
 Amyntas þe mightie was þe man hoten;
 Maister of Macedoine, þe marches hee aught,
 Bothe feeldes and frithes, faire all aboute, 15
 Trie towres and tounes terme of his life,
 And kept þe croune as a king sholde.
 þen this cumlich king and keene in his time
 Had wedde a wife, as hym well thought,
 And long ladden hur life in lond togeder, 20
 Twoo seemlich sonnes soone they hadden:
 þe alder hight Alisaunder as I right tell,

(*Oros.* iii, 12, 1-2) Anno ab urbe condita cccc Philippus Amyntae filius, Alexandri pater, regnum Macedonum adeptus xxv annis tenuit, quibus hos omnes acerbitatum acervos cunctasque malorum moles struxit. Hic primum ab Alex-

2 MS. thinken] thenken from *Al. A a.* MS. bacheleres] here and in a few instances *Sk.* fails to expand abbreviation 3 MS. Wheper] Outher from *Al. A a*
 6 MS. hymselfe] e above y 12 MS. lethes] d above th MS. fell] feole *supra-script* and to right 22 MS. alder] e above a

And Sir Philip forsoothe his frobroder hight.
 Cas fel ðat ðis kyng, as Christe wolde þanne, (fol. 2r)
 Was with siknes ofsought, and soone þerafter 25
 Hee was graythed to grace and to God went.
 His alder-aldust sonne þat Alisaunder hight
 þo was crouned king to keepe þe reigne.
 Well hee ladde þe londe while hee lyfe hadde,
 But his term was tint or it tyme were. 30
 And all þe cause of þis case I con soone tell,
 How hee was doolefully ded and doone of his life.
 Ðat made his moder þe queene þat moste was adouted.
 Eurydice hue hight, unkinde of her deedes:
 Hue loved so lecherie and lustes of synne 35
 þat her chylder hue chase unchastly to have.
 For Alisaunder, hur sonne, assent so ne wolde
 To fulfill so foule her fleshlych sinnes,
 Hue let kyll þis kyng with care at his hert,
 In þe formest yere that hee first reigned. 40
 And ðus lafte hee his life — our Lorde have his soule!
 For a feller in fight found men seelde
 While him lasted his life londes to yeeme.
 Now let wee þis lued lengen in bliss (fol. 2v)
 And sithe myng wee more of þis mery tale. 45
 Fel wintres tofore in his faderes life,
 Than was Philip þe free to fosteryng take
 In courte of unkouthe kith with a king ryche

andro fratre obses Thebanis datus, per triennium apud Epaminondam strenuissimum imperatorem et summum philosophorum eruditus est. (iii, 12, 3) Ipso autem Alexandro scelere Eurydices matris occiso, quamuis ea, iam commisso adulterio et altero primum filio interfecto filiaque uiduata, generi nuptias mariti morte pepigisset . . .

23 MS. hight] *Catchwords follow:* Cas fel dat dis K. 24 MS. Case fell þat this] *reading from preceding catchwords* 27 MS. alder] *e above a* 38 MS. fleshly] *ch suprascript and to right of y* 43 MS. yeeme] *Catchwords follow:* Now let wee dis lued 48 MS. courte unkouthe] *emend Sk.*

That was chuse of þe childe and choicelich hym kept.
 Hee that fostred and founde Philip in youthe 50
 King of Tebes that time truly was holden;
 Epaminondas hee hyght, full hardy to meete.
 So hee cherished þe childe cheefe over all,
 þat hee was woxen full weele and wyght of his deede,
 For to abyde any beurn in battle or eles. 55
 When his broder with bale brought was of life,
 Ryght was þat þis renk reigned hym after,
 To bee crowned a king in his right riche
 As maister of Macedoine amonges þe greate,
 For to leade þe lond as hym leefe thought, 60
 Men to holden of hym þat hed was of all.
 Philip fared him forthe in a fayre wyse,
 To receiven his right and reigne on his londes;
 But when þe lordes of þe lond lelich wysten
 Of hur neew-cummen king þat his kith asketh, 65
 With greate werre þat wonne þei werned hym soone,
 That by force of hur fight ðei firked hym ðennes;
 That hee ne must in his marche with his menne dwell
 Ne beleve in his lond, þat liked hym yll.
 Whan Philip felt tho folke so ferse of hur deedes, (*fol. 3r*) 70
 Ayen to Tebes hee turned, teenid full sore;
 To þe kyng of this case hee carped soone,
 How hee was kept at his coome with a keene route,
 That hee was faine with his folke to flee from his owne.
 Epaminondas þe king was carefull in hert 75
 Till hee were wroken of þe wrong þat þei wrought hadden.
 Hee graythed hym a greate oste, grym to beholde,
 And cheved forthe with þe childe, what chaunse so betide.

49 MS. chuse] y above u 55 MS. orels 56 MS. brought] beraft? bereft?
suprascript 67 MS. dei firked MS. dennes] thence *suprascript* 69 MS. be-
 leeue with e before u crossed out 70 MS. Whan corrected from What MS. folke]
Sk. folk 78 MS. with Dou childe] þe above Dou

So with Philip þe free hee fared on in haste
 To clayme his kingdome and catchen þe shrewes 80
 That beraften hym his ryght with rufull deeds.
 Than, shortly to showe, þei sharplich went
 And foughten for Philip his fone to dustroye,
 Tooke towres and townes, temid knightes,
 Felled þe falsse folke, ferked hem hard; 85
 With skathe were þei skoumfyt, skape þei ne myght. —
 Whoso weldes a wrong, þe worsse hym betides,
 For hee þat reigneth in ryght resheveth troth. —
 For fere of Sir Philip fledde they all
 And turned tit to a towne þat Attanus hyght, — 90
 A stip stede and a strong and straite for to winne, —
 And kept keenely þat cost fro þe kyng than,
 That hee ne myght with þo menne medle no while.
 The king of Tebes for teene targed no lenger
 But sought to þe citie and a saute made. 95
 They beseeged it so on sides aboute, (fol. 3v)
 That they tooke þe towne and traytours sleew.
 Thus faire Philip þe free his fomen awaited
 And thus sought hee his lond with lodelike dyntes.
 Than þis cumly knight was crouned soone, 100
 Of Macedoine made kyng maugré them all.
 Fore hundred yere holly, as I here tell,
 Sin þe citie of Roome sett was in erth,
 Philip in his freedam faire gan dwell,
 So too reigne on his ryght as rink in his owne. 105
 Now is hee crouned king and keepes his reigne,
 And swiþe hardie is hee happes too fonde.

(iii, 12, 4-5) . . . primum bellum cum Atheniensibus gessit. Quibus uictis

84 MS. towne] *emend. Sk.* cf. 228, 435, 484, 602, 860 MS. tamid] *e above a*
 85 MS. ferkerd?] *emend. Sk.* 86 MS. skoumkyt] *emend. Sk.* 87, 88 MS.
 worsse hee betides/ For hym þat] *hee above hym and emend. Sk.* 88 MS. res-
 kueth troth 95 MS. à saute] *Sk.* a-saute 106 MS. keepes] *Sk.* keepes

Now fares Philip þe free too fonden his myght
 And attles to þe Assyriens aunteres too seeche,
 And nere blynd þe beurn of battle stern, 110
 Till hee had fenked þe folke too fare at his wyll
 And wonne þe won with werre full keene,
 Folke to fare with hym as hee faine wolde,
 To chesen hym for cheefe lorde and chaunge hym never.
 Philip full ferslich in his fyght spedde 115
 And prooved in his powre as prince full noble.

Whan hee had so them hollich ifenked,
 Hee sought too a citie, full seemely too knowe,
 Larissæa hyght þat holde — full hardie men in, —
 One þe klenist coste þat any king aught. 120
 Philip fetches hym folke and foundes full soone (fol. 4r)
 Too bidden þem battle and brodes in haste
 For to lache hym as lorde þe lond for to have,
 Or deraine it with dintes and deedes of armes.
 Ferse were þo folke and foughten in haste, 125
 Or þei lesen þeir lond, their life for too spill.
 Longe lasted þat strife, but, lelli too knowe,
 By fin force of his fight Philip it winnes.
 Now hath Philip in fyght freely wonne
 The citie of Assyrienes with selkouthe dintes, 130
 And lordship of Larissæ laught too his will;
 And intoo Greece hee gose with a grim peeple.

Than hee turnes too a towne — Tessalonie it hyght —
 And assailes it soone, þe citie too have.
 Too swee onely þe towne or any oþer goodes 135

arma ad Illyrios transtulit multisque milibus hostium trucidatis Larissam urbem nobilissimam cepit. (iii, 12, 6-7) Inde Thessaliam non magis amore uictoriae quam ambitione habendorum equitum Thessalorum, quorum robor ut exercitui suo admisceret, inuasit. Ita Thessalis ex inprouiso praeoccupatis atque in

114 MS. chosen] e *above* o 119 MS. þat holde] e *above* o 124 MS. deraine] deraigne *suprascript* 126 MS. spill] e *above* i 134 MS. too] *Sk.* to 135 MS. to see onely] swee *above* see

Hee ne nyed it nought but needely too have
 All þo mightfull menne þat in þe marches dwelt,
 Too bryng at his baner for bolde þei were
 And alosed in lond for leeflich knightes.
 For þis enchesoun hee chused too chasen hem þere, 140
 Till þei were at his wyll as hee wolde ax.
 But, or hee tooke so their toune, teene gan spring:
 Many a dulfull dint dealed þei thare.
 But all þei were unaware, wisly too knowe,
 Of þat sorowfull asaute þat they so had; 145
 For, hadde þei knowe þe kast of þe kyng stern,
 They had kept well his cumme with carefull dintes.
 þei see no succour in no syde aboute (fol. 4v)
 That was come to hur koste þe king for to lett.
 And Philip with his fresh folke so fast þem assailes 150
 That þei graddden hur griþ, his grace to have,
 Him to taken þeir toune and trulich to serve,
 For to wend at his wyll whereso hym liked,
 And redy to his retainaunce ryght as hee wolde.
 Now is Philip full grym in fyght for to meete, 155
 And many mightfull menne may with hym leade.
 Attens þe trie toune hee tooke too his wyll,
 The folke too fare with hym when hee fonde time.
 þe citie of Assyrie is sett too his paye,
 And all þe beurnes in þe borowe boune too his heste. 160
 The lordship of Larissę is lauht too himselve,
 Men too cumme too his crie and kipeþ þeir might.
 Tessalonie þe trewe holde is turned too hym also,

potestatem redactis, iungendo equitum peditumque fortissimas turmas et copias inuictissimum fecit exercitum.

(iii, 12, 8) Igitur uictis Atheniensibus subiectisque Thessalis Olympiadem

136 MS. not] ught *suprascript* 143 MS. deled] a *suprascript* between e and l;
 Sk. deled MS. there] a above e 161 MS. lanht] i above a; *emend. Sk.* 162
 MS. & kipeþ] *emend. Sk.*; cf. 298, 509, 529, 904 163 MS. also] Sk. alse

With all þe weies in þe won his werre too keepe.
 Now is þat peeple full prest and preeved of strength 165
 For too wirchen his will and wend at his neede.
 Philip for his ferse folke in fale oþer landes
 Doughtye men douten, for dreedfull hee seemes.
 By every koste þat hee com kid was his might,
 For, when hee medled him moste, þe maistrie hee had. 170
 To profre þis process prestly too here,
 I karp of a kid king, Erubel was hote;
 The marques of Malasor menskliche hee aught,
 For hee was king of þe kip and knight wel alosed.
 Hee had a suster in sight seemely to fonde, 175
 The moste lufsum of life þat evere lud wyst.
 Olympias þe onorable overall hue hyght: (fol. 5r)
 Rose-red was hur rode, full riall of schape,
 With large forhed and long, loveliche tresses
 Glisiande as gold-wire, growen on length; 180
 Bryght browse ibent, blisfull of chere;
 Grete yien and graie, gracious lippes;
 Bothe cheekes and chinne choice too beholde;
 Mouth meete þertoo, moste for too praise;
 Hur nose namelich faire, hur necke full scheene; 185
 Schuft shulderes aright, well ischaped armes;
 Hondes hendely wrought, helplich, sweete;
 Faire fyngeres unfolde, fetise nailes;
 Sides seemely, sett seemlich long.
 Hupes had hue faire and hih was hue þan; 190
 Hur þies all þorououte þristliche ischape,
 With likand legges lovely too seene

Arubae regis Molossorum sororem duxit uxorem. Qui Aruba cum per hoc, quod

172 MS. Arisba] Erubel *suprascript to right* 173 MS. Molosor] a's *above first two o's*; cf. 204, 229 MS. mensliche] k *suprascript between s and l* 175 MS. seemely to sonde

And þe fairest feete þat ever freke kende,
 With ton tidily wrought and tender of hur skinne.
 Lili-white was hur liche to likne þe beurde. 195
 Where is þer lengged in lond a lady so sweete?
 Ðer sprong never spicerie so speciall in erþe,
 Ne triacle in his taste so trie is too knowe,
 As that ladie with love too lachen in armes.
 Wherefore I carp of þis case knowe yee may: 200
 Philip þe free king that ferse was of myght,
 For þe beurde so bryght was of blee scheene,
 He had his liking ilaide þat ladie too wedde.
 Too Malasor with his menne hee meeved in haste,
 Craved soone at þe kyng þat comelich beurde 205
 For too welde too his wife as hee will hadde.
 Ðe king was full curtais and coflich hym grauntes;
 For, had hee werned þat wyght, wo had hee suffred, (fol. 5v)
 For þat freelich fode Philip wolde eles
 Have geten with grim stroke of grounden tooles. 210
 þat time thought þe kyng to targe no lenger
 But bring þat blisfull to þe bern soone.
 To kyng Philip hee comme as curteis of deede
 And laft hym þe ladie to lache at his wyll;
 For hee thought on this thing þroeliche in hert, 215
 3if hee had too his help in his hie neede
 Of Macedoine þe king, a mighty man holden,
 To alie him too þat lorde and his love winne,
 þer shoulde no bydyng bern so bolde bee in erth
 Too teene hym untruly term of his reigne, 220
 Ne to greeve þe gome for gremþe of his help,

societatem Macedonum adfinitatae regis paciscebatur, imperium suum se dila-

194 MS. toze] ton *suprascript* 197 MS. Der sprong] *emend. Sk.* 204 MS. Molosor] a's above first two o's; cf. 172 207 MS. de king 208 MS. had hee werned] si prohibuisset *suprascript* 215 MS. þroeliche] e *suprascript* between o and l

The while Philip þe free hym frendship kid.
 Hee was bitraide in his trust; for truly þerafter
 When Sir Philip was fare with þe faire beurde
 And wedded þat wight with worship and joye, 225
 To bee ladie of his land and his leeve make,
 Men to queme hur as queene and quiklich hur serve,
 Bothe beurdes and bernes boune too hur wyll,
 To Molosor with maine his menne gan hee bryng.
 Y-armed at all pointes þei auntred hem ðider; 230
 Mani a lud of þe lond laid hi to grounde,
 And many a seemeli segge sorowe they wrought.
 þei laft for þo þe lond, lordshipes tooke,
 Seseden þe cities and seemelich tounes,
 Kevered hem casteles þe kyng too distrie. 235
 For his susteres sake cease they nolde,
 That hee with werre ne wan þe won þat hee aught,
 And þe kyng of his kip with care þei pinte, (fol. 6r)
 And Philip unfaithfully þe faire coste had.
 Eruba in exile ever was after 240
 And never comme too his kip but caught was in teene;
 With doole dried hee so his dayes in sorowe,
 To hee gaf up his goste with God for too dwell.
 Of þat carefull kyng carp I no farre,
 But leave hym in languor and lysten too more, 245
 How Philip chases as cheefe chaunces too fonde,
 Too bee adouted as deth in diverse londes.
 When he had so hem . . . hendely fetched
 His make too Macedoine with mirthes ynow.
 He laught leve at his wife and laft hur still 250

taturum putaret, per hoc deceptus amisit priuatusque in exilio consenuit.

227 MS. her] u above e 228 MS. bern] emend. Sk.; cf. 84 231 MS. raid hi
 to grounde] emend. Schumacher 234 MS. Ssesed] en above and to right 240
 MS. Arisba] Eruba *superscript* 243 MS. gaue] f above ue; cf. 726, 891, 1009,
 1054 246 MS. fynde] o above y 247 MS. as if diueres; cf 577, 853

For too live in hur londe in liking of hert,
 That no gome under God greeven hur myght.
 Philip his faire folke ferselich araies,
 Too Greece he grapes hym now with a grete will.

Hee comme too Comothonham, full cumlich a place, 255
 Of any borowe best buylt and bolde menne ðere,
 One þe hugest holde and hard for too wynne
 That was in Greece o þe grounde graiped too stond.
 Hee brought his menne to þe boorowe and blive it asailes,
 With prese of his power hee proferes þem fyght. 260
 Many a cumly knight and oþer kid peeples
 On every side was sett asaute too make.
 þough Philip fared with folke ferefull in fyght,
 Litle gained his greefe; for grim thei were
 To warden þeir walles with weies ynow. 265
 þat citie wer sure men sett for too keepe,
 With mich riall araie redy too fight,
 With atling of aireblast and archeres ryfe; (fol. 6v)
 Well-feþered flon floungen aboute,
 Grim arowes and graie with grounden hedes 270
 Wer enforced to flie, her fone for to greeve.
 So bolde were in þe borowe with balefull strokes,
 þat of Philipes folke fele they slew,
 And many mightfull men maymed hee þere,
 þat þe prent of þat prese passed never 275
 And Philip þe ferse king foule was maimed.
 A schaft with a scharp hed shet oute his yie,
 That never sibþen forsoþe sawe he therin.
 þe gremþe of þo grim folke glod to his hert,

(iii, 12, 9) Deinde Philippus, cum Mothonam urbem oppugnaret, ictu sagittae oculum perdidit.

255 MS. Methone] Comothonham *suprascript*; cf. 310 256 MS. & holde
 menne] *emend. Sk.* MS. þere] d above þ 258 MS. gruiþed 259 MS. borowe]
 o *suprascript* between b and o 263 MS. þough] though *suprascript* 268 MS.
 areblast] i *suprascript* between a and r 277 MS. shet] o above e

For his eger enemies his yie to lese. 280
 Hee made a very vow avenged too beene
 Of þat teenefull tach þat hee tooke þere,
 And swore swiftlich his othe, aswage hee ne sholde
 With all þe maine þat hee might too merken hem care, (*fol. 7r*)
 For to take þe toune þough hee teene had, 285
 All þe segges in sight sorowe too kipe.
 Philip enforceth hym now his folke for to gie; (*fol. 7v*)
 Hee rydes thoroughoute þe ronk, araies him neew,
 Many mightfull menne made hee stryve,
 With archeres and oþer folke aunted hym nere. 290
 þei lete flie to þe flocke ferefull sonndes,
 Gairus grounden aryght gonne they dryve,
 Stones stirred they þo and stightlich layde
 On hur engines full gist to ungoine þe walles.
 þei craked þe cournales with carefull dyntes, 295
 þat spedly tosprong and spradde beside.
 þe kyng with his keene ost coflich fightes,
 And kipes all þat hee can þe kip for to have;
 þei sive on þe citie, soothe for too tell,
 Hur borowe bet so doune with balefull strokes, 300
 And hemself in þe saute sorowfully wounded,
 And many a lifeles lud layed to þe grounde,
 þat þei ne stirred of þe stede strife for to make.
 Hur zates zeede þei too and youlden hem soone;
 To Philip farde þei forthe as fenked wightes, 305
 Profred hym þe pris holde and preies in haste
 To deeme what hee doo will for hur deede yll.

Ipsam uero urbem mox expugnauit et cepit.

288 MS. rank] o above a 291 MS. sonndes? soundes? 292 MS. Gamus;
 arg crossed out before MS. aryght 294 MS. iust] gist *suprascript* to right and
 underlined MS. to uncome þe 298 MS. And kipes all] *emend. Sk.*; cf. 162
 299 MS. seeue (?), seene (?)] i above first e 305 MS. fenked] uanquished *su-*
prascript 306 MS. praies] e above a

Dus was þe citie ofsett and siþþen so wonne.
 But many a balefull beurn bought it full dere
 Or kid Komothonham too þe kyng fell.

310

In Greece many a grete tounne grim was of strength,
 And þe menne of þat marche misproude were;
 Thei were so ding of þeir deede dedein þat they had
 þat any gome under God govern hem sholde;
 But, as they sayden hemself and assent made,
 þei nere encline to no king hur kip for too gye.
 They wrought by þeir owne will and wolde nought eles
 To seche þem a sovereigne þe citie to zeme.
 Farre þen þeir owne folke fare they nolde;
 What lud liked hem best þe lordship hee gat,
 And on chees for cheefe and chaunged lome.
 All swich cities þat seemelich were
 Philip fenkes in fyght and fayled lyte
 That all Greece hee ne gatt with his grim werk.
 In what maner and how men may ilere,
 þat hee withlich whanne þe worship of Greece,
 To bee holden of hym holly þe raigne,
 For to gye þe gomes as hym goode thought.
 Now tell wee of Tebes that tristy was holde,
 There as Philip þe free to fostring dwelt,
 How þe ludes of the land, alosed for gode,
 Wer enforced to fight with hur fone hard.

315

320

(fol. 8r)

326

330

(iii, 12, 10-14) Exim Graeciam prope totam consiliis praeuentam uiribus domuit. Quippe Graeciae ciuitates dum imperare singulae cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt et dum in mutuum exitium sine modo ruunt, omnibus perire quod singulae amitterent oppressae demum seruientesque senserunt. Quarum dum insanas conuersationes Philippus ueluti e specula obseruat, auxiliumque

308 MS. Dus] þ above D 310 MS. Methone] Komothonham *suprascript*; cf. 255 313 MS. dedin] disdeine *suprascript* 318 MS. Souereine] an above ei; cf. 404, 572 320 MS. hi þat] ee above i; g above þ 326 MS. wightly] withlich *suprascript* MS. wanne] wh above w 329 MS. trusty] i above u 331 MS. goode] second o crossed out

þer turned aȝe Tebes twoo trie places,
 þe sikerest cities that any seg wist:
 þe lordship of Lacedemonie loþed hem than, 335
 And of Phocos þe folke fast hem assailes.
 þe werre wox in þat won wonderly stern,
 And eiþer on hur enemies egerly wrought.
 On a season isett assembled they boþe,
 With all þe maine þat they might metten ifere; 340
 Araide rinkes aright reulich smiten,
 On foote and on faire horsse fought þei samme;
 Preken on a plaine feelde preeved knightes,
 Bolde were bore doune on bothe twoo halves.
 Of Tebes þe trie folke wer teened in hert; 345
 For hur ferefull fone so ferslich spedde,
 With wrayth of a woode will wonde þei nolde
 To riden into the route rappes to deale.
 Steedes stirred of þe stede, strane men under,
 And oother folke on hur feete folowed them after. 350
 The Lacedemonieines lowe laide were,
 And of Phocus folke feld they also.
 The Tebenieines teenfully tooke this oþer
 And to a riche raunson þe rinkes they putt,
 That amounted more then they might paye 355
 Or dereine with right with rede of þemself;
 To profer hem as prisoneres till they payde had,
 To let loþely þat goode or hur life tine.

semper inferioribus suggerendo, contentiones, bellorum fomites, callidus doli artifex fouet, uictos sibi pariter uictoresque subiecit.

Huic autem ad obtinendam totius Graeciae dominationem immoderata Thebanorum dominatio facultatem dedit, qui uictos Lacedaemonios ac Phocenses, caedibus etiam rapinisque confectos, cum insuper in communi Graeciae concilio tanta pecuniae multa onerauissent, quantum illi soluere nullo

337 MS. wax] o above a 343 MS. Priken] e above i 347 MS. wonde] e above o

þe companie was carefull and kest in hur hert,
 þat þei þat raunson with right arere ne might; 360
 þei wer so sorowfull hemself that summe to rere
 þat þei ne spared þat space to spenen hur lives.
 A proude knight of þe prese hur prince þei made —
 Philomela þe fell man was þe freke hote —
 þe folke of Phocus too araie and þe fight zeme, 365
 With ludes of Lacedemonie to leggen on hard;
 For they kende þe case and kneew eche one, (fol. 8v)
 But thei prestly payde that precious summe,
 þei sholde leesen hur life þei þem lothe thought;
 And 3if þei ferde to fight their fone for to nye, 370
 With skathe to bee skoumfit and askape never,
 þei wisten all full well, wisly to knowe,
 That more dreede þen deth drie þei ne might.
 As goode thought hem go till they grounde sought,
 To meete with hur fomen and manlich deie, 375
 As bee cowardly killd for cateles want.
 Forthe turned thei tid hur teene to venge,
 All to lachen or leese or hur lyfe tine.
 Full stoutely with stiff will þei stirred on hur gate,
 To teene þe Tebenieines þei turned to fight. 380
 þei dradden litle hur deth and doughtily wrought,
 þei putt þem in perril and prikenen aboute,
 þei rought lite of hur life and laiden on hard.
 For fere ne fantasie faile they nolde,
 þei were so hardie too harm, happes to fonde, 385
 þat þei þat stint at hur stroke stirred no more.

modo possent, ad arma confugere coegerunt. Itaque Phocenses, Philomelo duce
 et auxiliis Lacedaemoniorum Atheniensiumque fulti, commissa pugna fugatisque

359 MS. kast] e above a and marked; cf. 671 362 MS. spend] nen above
 d and underlined 364 MS. Philomela] o above a; cf. 421 370 MS. farde] e
 above a 375 MS. dye] deie suprascript and underlined; cf. 1013

So þei felden hur fone by force of her dintes,
 For greefe of hur grim stroke grunt full many,
 þat hem rued þe res, þat þei ne rest had
 Whan þei þe bikeriſ abide with boſtefull deedes. 390
 þus Φoſus with fyght felden this oþer;
 þei tooke hur treſour and teened hem ſore.

þei of Tebes with teene turnede fro thanne,
 Ruefull and redeles, biraft of hur goodes.
 In ſorowe bene they ofſett, to ſiken in hert, 395
 3iſ þei ne have none help hem to avenge.
 For ðis feye folk ðer ſo fouli was harmed,
 Till þei were wreken of þat wo wolde þei nought blinne.
 To ſeeche more ſocour aſſented they all.
 þe mightie king of Macedoyne moſte was adouted 400
 Of any wight in þe worlde — þei wiſt þe ſoothe;
 To fetch Philip þe folke farde in an haſte (fol. 11r)
 And comen ryght to þe kith þere þe king dwelt,
 Beſoughten hym of ſocour, hur ſoveraine to bene,
 To be lorde of hur land, þeir lawes to keepe, 405
 þei to holden of hym, þe hye and the lowe,
 With þat hee wolde with hem wend in an haſte,
 Hur enemies egerly in ernest to meete.
 Philip grauntes and goſe, graithes his peple;
 Til þei to Tebes wer turnd targe þei nolde. 410
 With his ferefull folke to Phocus hee rides
 And is wilfull in werk to wirchen hem care.
 Folke of Phocus to-fere, or the fight comme,
 Weren ware of hur werk and went for help.

hostibus Thebanorum castra ceperunt. Sequenti proelio inter inmensas utrius-

393 MS. thanne? thenne?] a or e blotted 396 MS. help þem to] emend. Sk.
 397 MS. diſ feye folk der fo] emend. Sk. 398 MS. blinne with laſt minim
 of ſecond n dotted aſ if blinie 414 MS. were] n ſupraſcript and to right of
 laſt e

þei armed þe Attenienes and aunter hem þider, 415
 Strained in stel-ger on steedes of might
 With grim graiþed gomes of Lacedemonie,
 All redie araied to ryden hem till.
 Hem lacked a leader þe ludes to araie;
 Hur prince in þe forme prese was prened to þe erth, 420
 Philomelo þe faire knight in þe fight died
 When þei proffred hem prest and þe pris wonne.
 For þei myssed þat man they made hem a neew;
 Enomanus, an eger knyght in erth to fight,
 þei made master of hem þe menne for too leade, 425
 And busken to battaile as bostfull in armes,
 With a leslich lust lachte togeder.
 Of Phocus þe fell duke in þe fight rydes,
 Enomanus þe bolde beurn þe battle araies;
 Hee was chosen for cheefe in chasing of werre, 430
 Too bee þeir dereworthe duke for doughtie hee thought.
 Now beene þe parties prest to proffren hur dintes,
 With baneres brode displaide busken to meete,
 Gurden in goode speede, grislich farde, (fol. 11v)
 Bothe blonkes and beurnes baren to grounde. 435
 þer was feld many frekes þat on þe feelde lay;
 Every segge for hymself bisetten hur might
 þat many a wounded wyght walowed þere.
 But Philip with his wight men þe werre gan 3eme,
 þat by strength of hur strife þei straught to foote 440
 Also many as his menne mighten areche.

que strages Philomelus occisus est; in cuius locum Phocenses Oenomaum ducem creauerunt.

Porro autem Thebani et Thessali omisso dilectu ciuium Philippum Macedoniae regem, quem hostem prius repellere laborabant, ultro sibi ducem expetiu-

435 MS. beurn] *emend. Sk.*; cf. 84 439 MS. 3enn? 3eme?] cf. 365 440 MS. hur] *Sk. her*

þus his peple on þe plain all þe pris wonne,
 þat none stirred of þe stede þere þei stroke sett.
 þe ludes of Lacedemonie loþed in hert
 þat ever þei stinten in strife to sterve in þe place; 445
 Of Phocus þe ferse men forthoughten hem all
 þat ever þei farde to fight with Philip þe keene.
 þus þis cumlich kyng þat ilche kith wynnes;
 Lorde of Lacedemoine was þe lud þanne,
 And Phocus by fin strokes freelich hee walte, 450
 And hathe all Greece at his graunte for his grete yie.

Now cease wee þe sawe of þis seg sterne
 And of a kyng wel ikid karp wee now,
 þat entred in Ægypt ever on his live
 To leng in þat lordeship, and þe lond aught. 455
 Of what kinne hee comme can I nought fynde
 In no buke þat I bed when I beganne here
 þe Latine to þis language lelliche turne.

1. Nectanabus þe noble man his name was hote;
 þe nede of nigremauncie hee nas nought to lern, 460
 In art of astronomie able hee was holde,
 And cheefe of enchauntment chaunces to tell.
 Hee was . . . on his craft and cunnyng of deede,
 Egipt by eritage entred hee never,
 Hee wanne it by witchcraft; for ywis hee was knowe. 465

erunt. Commisso proelio et Phocensibus paene ad interneccionem caesis uictoria
 ad Philippum concessit.

HISTORIA DE PRELIIS, J²

1. . . . <Dicunt autem de Nectanebo rege eorum [sc. Egyptii] quod fuisset
 homo ingeniosus et peritus in astrologia et mathematica et magicis uirtutibus
 plenus.

442 MS. pris]ce above s 457 MS. booke] u above oo MS. bed] had 'su-
 prascript 463 MS. Hee was on his

A proude prince and a pris fro Perss was fare,
 þat helde of þis hye king hollich his londes.
 To noble Nectanabus nam he his gate
 And tolde this tydyng to þe kyng soone,
 How hym was care to cumme by costes aboute: (fol. 12r)
 'þe kyng of Perce with prese of peple full huge 471
 Graithes hym grim folke and greve 3ou thenketh.
 But yee cast at his comme to keepen hym hence,
 Yee shall lose your lond and your life also.'
 For no care of þis case þe king in his lond 475
 Kleped no knighthod ne no kid peeple;
 Hee ne araide no route þe raigne too keepe,
 But passed privily in place full derne.
 A prest erþen pott hee proferes him till;
 Of rain-water ryght full þe rink gon it dress; 480
 A bright braseyn 3erd brode on his hond.
 And by þe conning of craft þat hee kid hadde,
 Hee sawe saile on þe sea seemelich knightes,
 Bothe schippes and schoutes with schawes of myght,
 Well i-armed iwis, werre too holde, 485
 þe egerest of Egipt in earnest too meete.
 Whan hee had þat happe hollich awaited,
 þe prince to þe pris kyng prestly saide,
 'Sir, I tolde you trouth, trist yee no nooþer;
 Yee beene greefly bigo but grace you falle. 490

Quadam die, dum nuntiatum fuisset ei quia Artharxerses rex Persarum cum ualida manu hostium ueniret super eum, non mouit militiam neque preparauit exercitus armatorum aut artificium ferri, sed intrauit solus in cubiculum palatii et apprehendit concham eream misitque in eam aquam pluuialem et tenens manu uirgam eneam et per magicas incantationes uidebat atque . . . intelligebat in conca aqua plena classes nauium que super eum ueniebant. >

466 MS. Perss] ss *underlined and* ce *suprascript* 472 MS. you thinketh] 3
 above y; e above i 474 MS. londe *with e crossed out* 476 MS. Kliped] e above i
 484 MS. schoute] *emend. Sk.; cf. 84* 489 MS. trist] u above i

Artasarses þe kyng and armed knightes
 Oute of Perce beth prest, passing hider
 With nine grete nations too nye þee here.
 Perce is þe principall and Perthe þat ooþer,
 Of Medie full mich folke murder þee think, 495
 Of Syria a siker oste sechen too fight,
 With menne of Mesopotame too mark þe teene,
 Of Argini and Arabes armed princes,
 þer beene of Bosforii beurnes ynow,
 Of Arofagi all men that armes now welde. 500
 Yee bene enforced to fight with þes fell beurnes
 And ooþer weics of þe Weste werre too make;
 þis ilk tydyng of teene trowe yee mowe,
 And, but yee bett beene araide, bale you springeth.'
 Nectanabus anonne-right nyed hym tyll 505
 And, gleming, gainelich too þe gome saide:
 'Keepe well thyne owne koste þat þei no komme ðare, (*fol. 12v*)
 þat is take too þee truly too zeme.
 þou kiþes no knighthod, too karp as a prince,
 But as a gome wer agast þou grendes thy speeche. 510
 þei ðei turn such teene this time hider
 With all þe might of hur maine mee too distroie;
 þe vertue of il victorie of unwele peepel

Erant tunc positi ad custodiam principes militie Anectanabi in partibus Persarum. Venit quidam ex his ad eum dicens: 'Maxime Anatanabe, uenit super te <Arta>xersem rex Persarum cum multitudine hostium ex plurimis gentibus. Sunt ibi Parthi, Medi, Perses, Siri, <Me>sopotami, <Argini>, Arabes, Bosp[ol]hori, atque Agriophagi et alie plures gentes de Orientis partibus innumerabiles.'

Nectanabus autem subridens dixit: 'Tu hanc custodiam quam tibi tradidi, ualde obserua bene et uigilanter; sed tamen non sicut princeps responsum dixisti, sed sicut timidus homo. Virtus enim non ualet in multitudine populi, sed in

496 MS. Syria siker] *emend. Sk.* 498 MS. Augmi 499 MS. Bosorij
 MS. burnes with e *suprascript between b and u* 501 MS. þes] *Sk. þus* 503 MS.
 may] owe above ay 507 MS. dare] þ before d 509 MS. kipes] *emend. Sk.;*
cf. 162 511 MS. þei der turn] *emend. Sk.*

Is noght stabled in strength of no stiff prese.
 Thorou graunte of þe greate God, if Him goode thinkes, 515
 In fight or in fell turn ðer as flight is of dintes,
 In battail or bolde stede bigly too wurch,
 As mich may a meane man as a more stern;
 For þou seeste well thiself,' saide þe king þan,
 'A lioun in a launde may lightlych drive 520
 Of hertes an holle herde, as happes ilome;
 For no strength ne strife no stifnes of memberes . . .
 But as gracious Godde grauntes too beene.'

Anon as Nectanabus had namned þese wordes,
 Hee passed in his paleis too a privie sell; 525
 Hee tooke prestly a pott too preeve yet more.
 Hee wraught shippes of wax and rain-water hentes;
 Hee puttes it in þe pott and a palme-braunche
 Hee helde hard in his hond and his art kipes.
 With all þe wyle of his werk þe waie gon enchaunte 530
 By segging of sorsery, þat hee sei þere
 Fleete in þe floode farre fro þe lond
 Of Barbre þe bryght god brem too beholde;
 þe gaye god of Egipt glisiande bright
 So sailed in þe sea in that same tyme. 535
 Hee bihelde how þe god þat heried was in Barbre
 Governed hur goodes by grace of his myght.
 þe seg sei well himself þat socour him fayles,
 For no grace hur grete god graunt ne might;

fortitudine animi. An nescis quia unus leo multos ceruus in fugam uertit?'

<Et hec dicens iterum introiuit in cubiculum palatii sui solus et fecit nauiculas cereas et posuit eas in concam plenam aqua pluuiali tenensque in manu uirgam palme et respiciens in ipsam aquam totis uiribus suis incantare cepit et uidebat quomodo dii Egiptiorum gubernabant in nauigiis barbarorum.

516 MS. der] þ above d 520 MS. lightly] ch above y and to right 521 MS. ilome] wh above and before i 529 MS. kipes] ee above i; emend. Sk.; cf. 162 531, 538 MS. sei] aw *suprascript* 539 MS. ne might] o above e

Of hem hoped hee help too have at his neede,
But hee kneew by that kast þei kouth nocht help. 540

þe beurn for a barbour blive let send,
His berd-heire and his hedde hett hee too schave;
Hee cast of his knightweede and cloþes hym neew
With white sendal in syght, seemely too knowe; 545
Of gold swith gret won graithes hee ðanne; (fol. 13r)

All that astronomie aught too long,
With ginnes of gemetrie too joinen his werkes,
Hee let trusse full tid and takes nomore,
But fares with few folke farre fro þe londe. 550

Hee passes as a prophet prively þanne
Fro Egipt till Ethiope and eft on his gate. . .
þere hee lenged in þat land as a lud straunge;
Men kneew hym for no king; kunnyng hee seemes.

Whan his menskfull menne might nought fynde 555

Hur ked king in Egipt, carefull þei were;
To hur god Seraphin þe gomes gon all
Koure doune on hur knees, karpē þese wordes.

‘Seemely Seraphin,’ saide they thanne,
‘Tell us sum tydyng of our true prince, 560
Noble Nectanabus, that now is awaye.’

Hur god grathliche spake and too þe gomes saide,
‘Kares nought for your kyng; þis kith hath hee lete
For peril of þe proude kyng from Perce þat wendes;

Statimque mutato habitu radens sibi caput et barbam, tulit aurum quantum portare potuit et ea que illi necessaria erant ad astrologiam et mathematicam artem, fugitque secreto de Egipto Pelusium, deinde Ethiopiam; induens se linea uestimenta, hoc est syndones albas, quasi propheta Egiptius uenit Macedoniam sedensque incognitus palam diuinabat omnibus qui pergebant ad eum.

Egiptii uero, ut uiderunt > (fol. 1v) quia Nectanabus non inueniebatur, perrexerunt ad Seraphym, dominum illorum maximum, et rogauerunt eum ut responsum daret illis de Nectanabo rege eorum. Seraphis respondens dixit illis: ‘Nectanabus rex fugit de Egipto propter Artarserses regem Persarum qui uenit

Hee shall hye hym againe and help you faire 565
 And schend þem schamelich þat sholde you greve.
 Of þis swift answer þei wer swith glad
 And gravenen a greate ston, a god as it were,
 Icorve after a kyng, full craftie of werk.
 Þe frekes in that faire ston at his feete soone 570
 Let write every worde, wisly too knowe,
 That Seraphin þat souveraine saide hem till,
 In mynde that mo folke myght it arede.

2. Now nolde Nectanabus no while dwell
 Too þe courte of þe kyng till hee comme were, 575
 Too looke on Olympias þe onorable queene,
 þat was alosed in lond of diverse raignes
 For one þe brightest of blee þat bore was in erth.
 Whan þe seg had seene that seemely ladie,
 Too greete that gracious hee gose in a haste; 580
 Hee cummes too þat comely and coflich saide,
 'Haile quemfull queene, quaintly shape! (fol. 13v)
 Moste of all Macedoine, menskfull ladie!
 Hee was dedaine on his deede 'madame' too segge
 Too any ladie in lond, for lordlich hee karpes. 585
 Þe queene quitt hym his speche and quickly saide,

et subiugabit uos; post aliquantum uero temporis debet reuerti ad uos iuuenis, eiciendo a se senectutem, et [et] ulciscetur uos de inimicis uestris subiugando illos et uos.'

Post aliquantum hec responsa respicientes Egyptii a deo suo statimque fecerunt regalem statuam ex lapide nigro in honore Nectanabi et scripserunt ad pedes eiusdem statue illa responsa ad memoriam posterum. Nectanabus autem incognitus manebat <in> Macedonia[m].

2. Interea Philippos rex Macedonie habiit in prelium. Nectanabus autem ascendens palacium ut uideret reginam. Mox autem ut uidit reginam Olimpiadem iaculatum est cor eius et exarsit in concupiscentia <m> eius tetenditque <man> um suam, salutans eam at dicens illi: 'Aue, regina Macedonum,' dedignans illi dicere 'domina.' Ad hec respondens ei Olimpiadis dicens: 'Aue, magister! accede proprius et sede.' Sedente autem eo interrogauit eum Olimpiadis

'Maister, welcome! ywis, will yee sitte?'
 þe ladie laches þis lude and ledes in hand,
 By hur side þat seg too sitten hue makes.
 þat worthlych too þis wight wilsfully saide, 590
 'Fro what kith bee yee comme, kennes mee now;
 Ert þou aught of Egipt, in ernest too tell?'
 'Queene,' saide hee quikly, 'þou quemest my hert;
 A full speciall speeche spoken yee have:
 Whereever menne saye "Egipt," myne eres ar prest, 595
 For þat wortlich worde waketh my bliss.
 It is a knightly kith and kid men inne,
 Of any wightes in wonne wysest iholde;
 þei bene rinkes aright in reching of swevenes,
 Too preeve mich privie thyng and pypyng of birdes. 600
 þe ludene of þat language lelli þei knowe,
 And bothe of burdes and bernes þe burth too tell.
 I am a lude of þat lond, lered therin
 Too preche as a prophet preeved of witt.'
 When hee þese tales her till had tolde soone, 605
 þe face of þat faire thyng fast hee beholdes.
 'Lude,' saide þe lady, 'let mee iknowe
 What thing thurlude thy thought þo þou mee bihelde?'
 'Forsoothe,' saide that seg, 'seemely queene,
 I segge god sent mee too save thee now, 610

dicens illi: 'Verene est quod Egiptius sis?' Respondens illi Nectanabus dicens:
 '<O regi>na, uerbum pulcerimum seu regale dixisti quando 'Egiptium' n<o-
 mina>sti. Sunt enim Egiptii sapientes qui etiam somnia interp<ret>antur,
 signa soluunt, uolatilia intelligunt, stellas celi cognoscunt atque manifestant,
 fatum nascentium et dicunt. (fol. 2r) Nam et ego itaque sensu subtilissimo de
 his omnibus cognitus sum sicut propheta et diuinus.' Hec autem cum dixiss[iss]et,
 aspesxit eam sensu concupiscibili. Videns ergo Olympiadis quia sic aspesxit
 eam, dixit illi: 'Magister, quid cogitasti sic aspiciendo me?' Respondit illi Nec-
 tanabus (cod. Nectanabo) dicens: 'Recordatus sum pulcerima responsa deorum;
 etenim responsum accepi a proximis diis ut debeam intueri reginam.'

596 MS. worclich] *emend. Sk.* 601 MS. lude ne of 602 MS. bern] *emend.*
Sk.; cf. 84

For too waste thy wo with wille þat I owe;
 Thorou bone of a bright god busked I hider,
 Too defend from doole þee dereworth queene.'

3. Whan hee with speede had spoke his speche to þe
 end, (fol. 14r)
 A brem brasen borde bringes hee soone, 615
 Imped in ivory, too incle þe truthe,
 With goode silver and golde gailich atired.
 In this blisfull borde beholde men myght
 Three circles isett, seemelich rounde:
 þe first cirkle in himself seemely was holde, 620
 þe twelve signes in sight sett þerin;
 If any wight in this wonne wilnes þem knowe,
 Kairus to þe kalender and kenne yee may.
 Sithen in þe seconde circle, soothely too lere,
 Was craftely contained þe course of þe sonne; 625
 And þe mark of þe moone made in þe third,
 þat bliss was for a beurn þat borde too biholde.
 þan fettes hee a forcer freelich ischape,
 þat wraught was of ivory wonderly faire;
 Sevin sterres, þat stounde, stoutlich imaked 630
 Hee showes forthe scheenely shynand bright:
 þe bern couth þerby boldely tell
 When a gome were igett, by grace of his witt.
 Foure stones in fath forthe gon hee bryng,
 þat lay longyng too the lovelich sterres; 635

3. Hec autem eo dicente statimque proferens de sinu suo musicam tabulam eneam et [et] eburneam, mixtam auro argenteoque, continente in se circulos tres: primus circulus continebat intelligentias duodecim, secundus circulus habebat solem et <tertius> lunam. Et post hec aperiens quandam cartam eburneam et proferens ex ea septem splendidissima astra exp[or]anti[ti]a honoratum natiuitatum hominum et quattuor lapides scultos ad septem astra pertinentes que

Many thinges of man myght hee showe,
 By studie of þe stones in what state hee were.
 'Maister,' quath þe queene, 'quainte of thy werkes,
 If þee liketh þat I leeve thy lufsum deedes,
 Tell mee tidly þe time and term of þe 3eres, 640
 In what daie my dere lorde, þat douhti is holde,
 Was iborne of þe burd þat hee best loved.'
 þe king by his kunnyng castes it soone;
 By ginnes of gemetrie hee joiffully telles
 Bothe þe date and þe daie and þe dere tyme 645
 þat Philip was forthbrought of his faire mooder.
 Whan this rink had arad and redely showed (fol. 14v)
 All þe burth of þe bern by his art one,
 'Ladie,' said hee, 'lovelyche, liketh þee aught eles
 þat I shoulde þee showe in a short time?' 650
 'Maister,' saide þat menskfull, 'mee likes too knowe
 What Philip my free lorde, þat fairest of londe,
 Wil wirsch by mee; for weies mee tolde
 Hee wyll forsake mee soone and seeche hym a neew
 Whan hee is cumme too þis kith, too kithe mee sorowe.' 655

For yee ne have noght iherd holly þe wrath,
 By what cause þe kyng coveted in hert . . .
 Too loþe this ladie, mee list you tell.
 As Philip farde to fight in a ferce place,
 Hee turned too a temple, atired too-rightes, 660
 His grete god Amon grates too zelde.

sunt ad custodiam hominis posita. Que cum uidisset eas, Olimpiadis dixit ei:
 'Magister, si uis ut <credam> tibi que ostendis, dic mihi annum et diem et
 oram natiuitatis regis.' Ad hec Nectanabus cepit computare et dicere per mathe-
 maticam artem annum et diem et oram natiuitatis regis. Cumque hoc fecisset,
 dixit regine: 'Numquid uis aliud quod dicam tibi?' Regina respondit: 'Volo ut
 dica <s mihi quid> debet fieri inter me et Filippum quia dicunt mihi homines,
 si reuersus fuerit Filippus ex prelio, eiciat me aliamque sibi accipiat uxorem.'

Hee kneeles coflich adoune and kries hym till
 And saide, 'Seemely god, send mee too knowe
 Of onorable Olympias þat I on think;
 What shall hur happe to have þat hende is of deede?' 665
 His god gave an ansuer and too þe gome saide,
 'Hur chaunce is too have a childe þat cheefe shall in erth
 Of any ludes þat live in lordship wex.
 þe bern shall not bee ðine, bolde þo þou seeme,
 But geten of anooper gome in þat gaye burde.' 670
 þen was þe king carefull and kest for wrath
 For too bring þat beurde in baile forever.
 Menne tolde this tydyng too þe true queene;
 þerfore hur lyked þat lud his lore too knowe.
 'Now,' saide Nectanabus anon too þe lady, 675
 'þe sawe þat þou haste saide uncertain is founde;
 But ðei þou ne hap noght yet too have þat sorowe,
 þat fere shall bifall þee within few yeres.
 Whan Philip in his foule will hathe þee forlete, (fol. 15r)
 Maugré his malice or his menne sterne 680
 Him tides to take þee aȝain; trowe þou no nooðer.'
 'Maister,' quod þe queene, 'queme yee me might,
 Of this unkouth case too karp þe soothe;
 When Philip þe ferefull forsake mee thynkes,
 Who durst bee so bolde, þat bides in erth, 685
 Too make hym maugré his menne mee for too take?'
 þus saide þe seg, 'Such one I knowe;
 A god þat is gracious and grete of his myght

Cui Nectanabus dixit: 'Falsa (*cod. falsa*) uerba sunt hec (*fol. 2v*) et non uera;
 sed tamen post aliquot annos fiet tibi <et non> in paucis diebus, et iterum
 uolens nolens habebit te Filippus in uxorem. Ad hec regina dixit: 'Obsecro te,
 magister, ut dicas mihi omnem ueritatem.' Nectanabus respondit: Unus ex

669 *MS.* þine] d above þ 671 *MS.* kest] a above e; cf. 359 677 *MS.* But dei]
 though *suprascript* 678 *Catchwords follow:* Whan Phelip 681 *MS.* no nooder
 682 *MS.* queme? quame?] *blotted*; e above first e (a?)

Shall busk too thy borde bed by þee too ligge
 And fro this harmfull happe help þee faire.' 690
 þe ladie full lovely of þee lud askes,
 'Which dereworthe dright desires mee too have?'
 þis king carpes anon and cofly saide,
 'Hee is noght yonge of his yeres þat yernes þee take,
 Noþer olde of his age, but onely too showe; 695
 In a meane maner mightfull hee seemes.
 Hee hath hye on his hed hornes of sylver,
 With golde gailye begonne glisiing bright,
 With here on his hedde and his berd also.
 Hee wyll nye too-night and neede þee bihooves 700
 Bee full prest too his paie and profer þee faire.'
 '3if I may trowe thy tale trulich,' hue saide,
 'I shall hilich herie with hert and wyll;
 Noght praise þee as a prophet þat passeth in londe,
 But as a gracious godde greate I þee thynk, 705
 And bileeve on thy lore all my lifetime.'
 þan nolde Nectanabus no lenger abide,
 But gothe too a greene grounde þere grases wer sett,
 Farre fro þe paleis hee fares all alone
 And laches in a launde full lovely wortes; 710
 Hee grindes hem grathly and gripes in honde,

potentissimis diis concubet tecum et adiuuabit te.' Regina dixit: 'Et quis est ille deus qui concubet tecum?' Nectanabus respondit: 'Ille enim Amon potentissimus qui largitur diuitias in omnibus.' Regina dixit: 'Obsecro te, magister, ut dicas mihi quam figuram habet ille deus.' Nectanabus respondit: 'Nec iuuenis est neque uetulus, sed in media etate consistit, habens in fronte cornua arietina et barbam canis (*cod.* canos) ornatam. Pro quo certissime scias, esto parata illi hac nocte quia in somnis uidebis eum et in ipso somnio concubet tecum.' Regina respondit: 'Si hoc uidero, non quomodo propheta <m> aut diuinum, sed sicut deum adorabo te.'

Statimque Nectanabus (*cod.* Nactanabo) uale dicens regine et descendens de palatio exiensque continuo foras ciuitatem in desertum locum atque euellens

Hee wringes oute þe wet wus and went on his gate. (*fol. 15v*)
 Hee passed intoo þe paleis in a preevy wyse.
 When it dreew too þe derk and þe daie slaked,
 þe burd busked too bedde and brought was on-slepe, 715
 þis king with his conning kithes his werkes
 With wiles of witchcraft and wicked deedes,
 þat by favour of þe fende and his foule craftes
 Hee grathes hym as a god and gothe too þe burde.
 As hue slumbred on-slepe, slilich hee wendes 720
 And lyeth by þat ladie þat lovely was holde.
 Whan hee his will had wraught, hee wendes in haste
 And straihte oute of þe stede with a stiff wyll.
 þan þe burde in her bed braide of hur slepe
 And, whan shee wakyng was, shee wondred in hert. 725
 Hue mett on þe midnight of mirth full rive,
 þat grete god Amon gan þiþer wend
 And had seemelich isett silvern hornes,
 And bright blased his blee as a brend glede.
 þen was Amon ywis of worship alosed 730
 And igrett for a god, grettest in lond.
 Hee was ishape as a sheepe, shinand bright,
 Ipainted full prisely, and precious stones
 Wer stucked on þat stock, stoute too beholde.
 All þe ludes of þe lond, lordes and eles, 735
 Set hym for souveraine þeir sokour too beene
 And saide þere sacrifice in selkouth times.
 þanne ortrowed Olympias þe onorable queene,
 þat hee neihed þat night nye too her syde
 And fonded hur fleshlych or hee fare wolde. 740
 Whan hee in his lykyng þat ladie lauht had,

herbas, trituran eas et tollens succum illarum, fecitque incantationem per diabolica figmenta ut uideret Olimpiadis eadem nocte deum Amonem concubentem

Hur seemed in þat same stede þat hee saide after,
 'Worldly wooman, well may þee lyke,
 For thy keeper of care is conceived now.'

4. A-morowe on þe mirie daie þis menskfull queene (*fol. 16r*)
 Arises up redely and a rink sendes 746
 Anon too Nectanabus and needely hym praies
 þat he cofly comme too carpen her tyll.
 þan laft þis lud noght long thereafter,
 But camme too þat lovely too kenne of her lore 750
 þe queene tolde hym till þe tales too þe ende,
 Of her dereworth dreame þat draihte hur in slepe,
 And hue saide too þat seg, 'Soothe oþer eles
 3if it were, I ne wott; for wislich I slept
 Whan I þat sweven so sweete swiftly mette.' 755
 'Nay,' saide Nectanabus, 'ne trowe þou no nooþer'; —
 þis ilk sawe was soothe and certain iprooved —
 'For, 3if þou lene mee leve too leng biside,
 For too stand in a stede of a straite place,
 Too waite at a windowe and warn þee after, 760
 I shoolden trie þe truþe and tell þee soone,
 Wheþer I faithfull or falss founde thy sawe.
 For I warne þee well, with worship and joye
 Hee wyll þee nye too-nyght in a neew fourme;
 In dreame as a dragoun dreche hee þee thenkes 765
 And sithen showe hym hee shall, a shawe as it were,
 Mich liche too mee by mark of my face.

secum dicentemque sibi post concubitus: 'Concepisti defensorem tuum.'

4. Mane autem factis cum surrexisset Olimpiadis a somno, fecit uenire Nectanabum [et] a<d> se et narrauit illi somnium quod uiderat. At ille dixit ei: 'Scio hoc quod dicis; sed si locum dederis mihi in palatio tuo, per ueritatem ostendam illum tibi, quia aliud est <somnium atque aliud> est ueritas. Nam iste deus in figuram draconis ueniet ad te et postea conuertetur in humanam (*fol. 3r*) formam acsi meam similitudinem habebit (*cod. haberet*). Ad hec respondens

750 MS. Kenne her] of *suprascript*.
 767 MS. liche] ke *above* che

756 MS. no trowe] e *above* o of no

'Sir,' saide þat seemelich, 'þi sawes bee mirye;
 þou shalt stond in a stede still biside.
 3if it bee certain and soothe, þiself shall I chese 770
 Too faþer þe free that I forthbryng.'

þe burd bad hastely by hur boure-side
 þat swich a plais were prest too proove þe truthe.

Whan ðe leme and ðe liht of ðe leve sonne (fol. 21r)

Was idrawne a-downe and dym were cloudes, 775

þe ladie lay on hur bed and lysted too slepe;

And this wonderfull weie waites his place.

Hee stode still on þe stede and stirred no foote

And sleyly, when þe first slepe slaked on wightes,

Hee chases by enchauntement þe chamber within 780

And with a dragones drem dreew too þe bedde.

þan hee meeves too hur mouthe and makes his lidene

And kisses þat cumly and kithes his wyll;

And sithen hee seemed a seg, hymself as it were,

And spake too her speedily these speciall wordes: 785

'On þee is gotten a gome, þe grimpest in erth,

þat all weies in þe worlde worship shall.'

þus quaintely þis queene was quemed with gyle

And wend gamene with a god, gracious of might,

Whan a libbing lud lay in hur armes. 790

Olimpiadis dixit: 'Bene dixisti, magister. Recipe cubiculum in palatio et, si hoc probare pot<u>eris, habeo te quasi patrem pueri.' Et hoc dicens iussit ei dari cubiculum.

Circa uigiliam autem primam noctis cepit Nectanabus per magicas incantationes transfigurare se in figuram draconis et sibilando cepit o[b]sculari eam et coire cum illa. Cum ergo surrexisset a concubitu eius, percussit eam utero eius et dixit: 'Hec conceptio sit uictoralis et nullomodo ab homine subiugetur.' Taliter autem decepta est Olimpiadis concubens cum homine quasi cum deo.

772 MS. boure] w above u 773 MS. swich] u above wi; cf. 874 MS. place] is above ce MS. truthe Catchwords follow: Whan de leme, and de liht of de leue sonne 774 MS. Whan þe leme & þe light of þe leefte sonne] reading taken from preceding catchwords 779 MS. nightes] w above n

þis rink or þe sonnerist romes a-morowe
 And passes in þe paleis prestlich hym one.
 And far-forthe on þe daye, whan þe faire burde
 Had long þere layne and had lyst too ryse,
 Dereworth damseles drowen them þiþer; 795
 Too serve þat seemely þei setten hur hondes.
 Whan hue was redie araied and riall on sight,
 Hue sendes soone for þe segge and saide þese wordes,
 ‘Menskfull maister, makeles of witt,
 Tell mee now truly and targe no lenger; 800
 What kid King Philip þat keene is of hert
 Deemes with mee too doo, mee dreedes it sore.’
 þe lud too this lady full lovely saide,
 ‘Of Philip have þou no fere; for, faitly too knowe,
 Amon þe grete god by graunte of my boone 805
 Schall þee wisse fro wo and wreche of his teene.’
 Ðanne ferd Nectanabus forthe fro þat place,
 Hee wendes too a wildernes and waites him erbes,
 Hee tempres hem tidly and takes hem after
 And hee draines in a dish till þei dry were. 810
 þan fetches hee a sea-foule, faire of his wynges,
 And sawes of sorserý hee saide therovery;
 Of his grounden gras þe wus can hee take;
 þeron hee brynges þe brid and bathes his pilus.

Mane autem facto descendens Nectanabus de palatio, regina remanens in cubiculo pregnans. Cumque cepisset uterus eius crescere, uocauit ad se Natana-bum et dixit illi: ‘Magister, uolo ut dicas mihi quid facere debet Filippus de me si redierit.’ Cui Natanabus respondit: ‘Noli expauescere quia deus Amon pro me erit in adiutorium tui.’ Et hec dicens continuo descendens de palatio exiensque foras ciuitate <m> in desertum locum et euellens herbas, trituras eas et tollens succum illarum apprehendensque auem marinam cepit incantare super eam et de succo illarum herbarum ungere. Hec autem faciebat per diabolicas incanta-

795 MS. drowen] *eew above owne* 797 MS. araied] *e crossed out* 800 MS. targe] *ie above ge* 806 MS. teene; *catchwords follow: Ðanne ferd Nect.* 807 MS. þan farde] *reading taken from preceding catchwords*

By help of þe hell-feende hee hauntes his werkes, 815
To gille Philip in Greece whan þe gome slept.

5. Whan it nied þe night, nedelich and soone
Philip fared too bed and fell on a slepe.
þe chaunce of enchauntment chased his mynde,
þat hee was draiht with dreme thorou deviles engines. 820
þan met þat man on his mirie slepe
þat hee sawe on his sight his seemely make,
How þat lovelich lif laide was a-bedde
And a gracious god gripte hur in armes.
Hee lay by þat lady, his liking hee wrought, 825
And, whan his deede so deerne doone was in haste,
A-middes hur membre too maken it close
Hee sawe hym sewen a seme by seeming of sweven,
And with a gaie golde ring hee gan it asele.
A ston stiked þerein stoutlich igrave: 830
þe cast of þe sonne-course was corve þerin;
A litle liones hed lovelich ishape,
With a swith faire swerd sweetelich imaked,
Was isett on þe sell þe seme all a-middes.
Whan Philip on þe forthe daie first gan arise, 835
Hee cliped hym his clerkes full conning of witt;
Full noble nigremancienes ðan . . . hee in haste,
þat kouth such swevenes swiftly arede.
Hee minges his metyng amonges hem all
And what it might bee too meane þe menne gan hee ask. 840

tiones, ut deciperet Filippum regem per somnium. Factumque est.

5. Eadem igitur nocte apparuit Filippo in somnis deus Amon concubens cum Olimpiade uxore sua et post concubitum quasi uideret os uulue illius consuere atque signare aureo anulo. — Et ipse anulus habebat lapidem scultum, caput leonis et cursus <solis> (*cod.* leonis) atque gladium. — Et (*fol. 3v*) post hec dicens ei: 'Mulier, concepisti defensorem tuum et de patre suo Filippo.' Exur-

826 MS. deede so deene] *emend. Sk.* 828 MS. sowen] *ew above owen*
837 MS. þan hee in] *d above þ* 840 *Catchwords follow:* His enchauntour

His enchauntiour cheefe, þat þe chaunce herde, (fol. 22r)
 Too þe cumly kyng kid these wordes
 And saide, 'Sir, forsoothe, thy seemely make
 By a gracious god shall go with childe.
 Þe prent þat was iputt on hur privie membre 845
 With þe gaie golde ring grave too-rightes,
 Þe leve lioness hed þat laide was amid,
 As mich amounteth too meane, as I may tell,
 When hur barn is ibore, bolde shall hee wex
 And bee kid for a king keene of his deedes. 850
 As þe lioun is lorde of living bestes,
 So þe ludes in þe lond alouten him shall;
 Þe sonne-course of þe sell sinifieth also
 þat hee shall fare as farre as any freke dwelles,
 And right too þe sonnerist his raigne shall last; 855
 Þe swerd sweetlich imade, in sweven too rede,
 Bitokneth full treewly in times hereafter
 þat hee shall grow full grim and graithlich winne
 With stern strokes of swerd and striving of dintes
 Bothe boldes and borous and berness to his will, 860
 And seemely cities as souveraine in erth.'
 Philip saide, 'Forsooþe, mee seemed þat tyme
 That I sawe þe god go graith too hur bedde;
 Whan hee his will had wrought, "Woman," he saide,
 "Thy keeper is conceived thy comeftor too bene, 865

gens autem Filippus a somno uocauit ad se ariolum et narrauit ei somnium quod uiderat. Cui ariolus respondit: 'Rex Philippe, pro certo scias quia concepit Olimpiadis (*cod.* Olimpiade) uxor tua non ab homine, sed a deo. Caput namque leonis et cursus solis atque gladius talem intellectum habent quia ille qui nasci debet ex ea pertinet pugnando usque ad Orientem unde sol egreditur et per gladium subiugando sibi ciuitates et gentes.'

847 MS. loue lioness] *silently emend. Sk.* 850 MS. keene] *Sk. kene* 853
 MS. as if courtes] *emend. Sk.; cf. 247* 855 MS. rist] *e above i* 858 MS.
 graithlich] *greatly superscript* 860 MS. borou and bern] *emend. Sk.;*
cf. 84

þat þee and Philip þe free of fone shall avenge."'
 'Sir,' said þe enchauntiour, 'soothely too mene,
 Whan þe god gan speake too þe gaie beurde,
 How hue conceived had þe help of hur teene,
 Faire Philip and hur freely too keepe, 870
 þat is wisly too witte hee will you defend
 Fro paines and peril þat perce þee ne shall.
 Of this mirie meting well may þou lyke,
 Of swiche happes so hende herde I nere tell.'

6. In þe same sesoun, soothely too showe, (fol. 22v)
 Philip farde too fight as I tofore saide. 876
 þat time þe Tebenienes hee turned too fight
 Aȝain þe ferefull folke of Phosus þe riche,
 With ludes of Lacedemonie lasches too deale.
 Aȝain Philip too fare feele ðer come. 880
 Nectanabus anon-right with his nice werkes
 Too begile þe gome graithes hym soone;
 Deraide as a dragoun dreedfull in fight,
 Hee wendes too þe werre with Philip too holde;
 In sute of þe same shape hee seemed þan 885
 As whan hee farde tofore too þe faire queene.
 þan hee farde in þat fight as hee folke sleew,
 And brutned in that battle buernes ynow.
 For dreede of þis dragoun menne dreew þem þence
 And fell doune in þe feelde, fenked in haste. 890

6. Interea Philippus rex pugnavit et uicit. Apparuit namque ei in ipso prelio draco qui antecedeat eum et prosternebat ante eum inimicos eius.

OROSIUS

(iii, 12, 14-17) Phocensibus paene ad internecionem caesis uictoria ad Philip-pum concessit. Sed Athenienses, audito belli euentu, ne Philippus transiret in

874 MS. swiche] u above wi; cf. 773 878 MS. Phocus] s above c 879 MS.
 Lacedemonie] Sk. Lacedemoine 880 MS. þer] d above þ 885 MS. sight]
 sute *suprascript*

þe dreede of þis dragoun þat drof men aboute
 So fought for Philip and feld mo knightes
 þan all þe men of Macedonie and more of his peeple.
 Whan this kyng had killedd with carefull strokes
 þe Lacedemoniens þat life loren hadde, 895
 And Phocus with ferse dynt frelich ywonne
 Thorou drede of þe dragoun and drift of his knightes,
 þe fell folke of Attenes fledden hym soone
 And thought to saven hemself fro sorowe of his wrethe.

Philip after þis fight in a foule time 900
 Was going too þe over Greece as a grete prince.
 þe armed Attenieines auntred hym till;
 þei wern ware of his comme and his waie stoppes.
 þe king kipes his grim too keveren him gate,
 But all his werk was in waste; þei werned his thoughtes. 905
 For he ne scholde hem shend and shamelich take (fol. 23r)
 Hur seemely cities too sorowen hem all,
 Enforced were þe entrés with egre men fele,
 þat hee ne might in þat marche no maner wend.
 Whan þe seg sawe well no sokour ne speede, 910
 He was gretely agrise and greeved in hert,
 For hee ne might in þo men his malice kith.
 To Tebes and Tessalonie þat truly hym holpe
 Hee went as a woode man his wrath too avenge.
 Whan hee comme too þat coste, þei kepten hym faire 915

Graeciam, angustias Thermopylarum pari ratione sicut aduenantibus antea Persis occupauere.

Igitur Philippus, ubi exclusum se ab ingressu Graecae praestructis Thermopylis uidet, paratum in hostes bellum uertit in socios [sc. Thebanos]: nam ciuitates,

891 MS. droue] f above ue; cf. 243 895 MS. loren] ne above en 904 MS. keepes] i above e; cf. 162 905 MS. thoughtes] catchwords follow: For he ne scholde 906 MS. hee ne sholde] reading from preceding catchwords 909 MS. þat marches (marchis?)] emend. Sk. 911 MS. agrise] d above e and to right; cf. 984

And gon too hur gates and grathlich hem openes
 And lete þe rink riden in with his route sterne;
 And weies hym welcomes with worship and joye.
 þei trowed no tresoun untruly too have,
 But Philip þe ferefull faire thei grette 920
 And lete hym prik with his prese in hur pris holdes.
 As soone as þe seg was þe citie within,
 Hee, wrathfull of wille, wronglich þare
 Hee lete catch þe king and kyllen hym soone
 And his princes of price prestlich hee quelde; 925
 Douhtie dukes with doole too deth gon hee bryng
 And ooper lordes of lond liveles hee made.
 Hee brende holdes and borous and beurnes therin,
 And all went too wo þat they with mett.
 As mich as Philip tofore hem frendship wrought 930
 Whan hee fought for þem and Phocus distriede,
 As mich maugré and more hee marked hem after,
 Too traie them untruly þat trusten hym till;
 On weies and women awrak hee his teene
 And solde them too servise in sorowe too live 935
 And robbed of riches all þe riche tounes.
 þus hee wrought þat wrong with wreche of his anger
 For teene of þe Attenieines þat turned him too kepe.
 Whan he ðis kursede cas unkyndely wrought, (fol. 23v)
 Hee ne laft no leng in that lond þan. 940
 For too fonde more fight his folke gan hee leade

quarum paulo ante dux fuerat, ad gratulandum ac suscipiendum patentes hos-
 tiliter inuadit, crudeliter diripit, omnique societatis conscientia penitus abolita
 coniuges liberosque omnium sub corona uendidit, templa quoque uniuersa sub-
 uertit spoliauitque, nec tamen umquam per xxv annos quasi iratis dis uictus est.

923 MS. wrathfull wille] *emend. Sk.* 931 MS. distroide] *ie above oi* 933
 MS. traie] *be suprascript to left* 938 MS. kepe] *catchwords follow: Whan he*
 dis kursede cas 939 MS. whan hee þis cursed case] *reading taken from pre-*
ceding catchwords

And fares too a countrie with knightes ynow,
 þere a citie was sett seemely and noble,
 þat Cappadoce was cleped, a full kid place;
 Many doughtie of deede dwelt þerin 945
 þat wern fresh too fight and fell of hur deedes.
 Philip bedes hem biker and biddes þem yeelde
 þeir faire citie in faith or fight þei shall.
 þe seges in þe citie þemself so kept
 þat Philip lafte þere long and litle hee spedde. 950
 But hee ne stint of his strife noght a stounde-while
 Till hee had take þe toune, þat tristy was holde,
 And imade all þe menne meeke too his wyll.

6 cont. Whan hee had wonne þis won and wrought more teene,
 With mirth too Macedoine hee makes his chace. 955
 Hee priked too his paleis with princes and dukes
 And many a seemely seg þat sued hym þanne.
 Of hym þe queene was ware and wendes with joye
 And romed right too þe rink, received him faire.
 Philip kisses his fere, as fell for too doone, 960
 And kneew by hur countenaunce hue conceived had.
 'Dame,' saide þat douhtie, 'how haste þou doo now?
 Who hath þee unclene ikept sithen I comme fro þee?
 þou haste medled amis, methynk by thy chere.
 Natheless I not ȝit; nai, as I trowe, 965

(iii, 12, 18) Post haec in Cappadociam transiit ibique bellum pari perfidia gessit . . . (iii, 12, 20) . . . quam mox Philippus hostiliter adgressus urbem antiquissimam et florentissimam, caedibus ac sanguine repletam opibus hominibusque uacauit. . . .

HISTORIA DE PRELIIS, 6 cont.

Cumque rediret Macedoniam, obuiauit illi in palatio Olimpiadis uxor eius et o[b]sculatus est eam (*cod. eum*). Intuitus eam Phylippus rex dixit ei: 'Cui te tradidisti, Olimpiadis? Peccasti, itaque non peccasti quia uim sustinuisti a deo.'

Dof þou have chevesed þee a chylde, as þi chaunce falles,
 For it is geten of a god thy gilt is þe lasse.
 Of all þe happe þat þou haste hollich ifounde
 I had minde on my slepe by meting of sweven;
 Azaines mee and all men þat may thee biholde 970
 Blameles þou might bee of thy berem-chaunce;
 No wight of thy werk wite þee might, (fol. 24r)
 Sithen it is sonde of a god, soothelich iprooved.'

7. It betid in a time tidly therafter,
 þat Philip made of folke a feaste full ryche. 975
 All his princes of price praied hee thider,
 And ooþer lordes of lond ne laft hee none.
 Whan hee is fare fro fight his folke for too feaste,
 In Macedoine with his men this mirth hee made.
 As soone as þei were sett and served too-rightes, 980
 Nectanabus by nigremauncie neew hym attires
 And in a dragounes drem hee dreew to þe halle.
 Hee comme first too þe king and too þe kid queene
 And sithen hee buskes aboute þe bordes echone;
 Hee drouned as a dragon dredefull of noyes, 985
 þat all þe gomes were agrise of his grim sight.
 þan farde hee forthe too þe faire queene
 And hee holdes his hed right in hur lappe
 And kisses þat cumly in knoweing of all.
 Philip saide too his fere freely þese wordes, 990

Ego itaque totum quod in te factum est per somnium uidi; proinde a me et ab hominibus omnibus irreprehensibilis esse uideris.'

7. Quadam namque die epulabatur Phylippus cum principibus et primis Macedonie una cum Olimpiade uxore sua. Nectanabus autem per artem magicam transfigurauit se in figuram draconis et per medium triclinium in quo comedebat Filippus transiens ibat sibilando sibi sic terribiliter, ut pauorem et conturbationem mitteret in his qui conuenerant, et appropinquans ad Olimpiadem posuit caput in gremio eius et ob]sculabatur eam. Rex autem cum (fol. 4r) hoc uidisset,

'Dame, of this dragoun I doo þee too knowe, —
 And every livand lud þat lenges herin, —
 In a brem battail abrode in þe feelde
 Whan I was greefly bigo with a grim peeple,
 Hee comme flie too feelde and my fone schende, 995
 þat I was holpe by hym hem too distrie.'
 Whan þis tale was tolde and tended of all,
 þe dragoun dreew him awaie with drift of his winges.

8. In a somer seasoun soone therafter
 As Philip satt by hymself, soothe for too tell, 1000
 A faire breeding brid bremlich went
 And in þe lappe of þat lud lovely hee sittes.
 Or þis freelich foule farde of þe place,
 Hee bredde an ai on his barm and braides him þan.
 Philip wondred was of this werk quainte (fol. 24v)
 And satte still on þe stede, stirred no foote. 1006
 þe ai fell on þe flore in the frekes sight
 And þe shell toshett on þe schire grounde.
 Whan it coflich too clef, þer crep oute an addre
 And buskes full boldely aboute þe shell. 1010
 Whan this wrom had went wislich aboute,
 Hee wolde have gliden in againe graithlich and soone,
 But or hee had in his hed, hee hastely deide
 And dreew nere too his denne but deide biside.

dixit: 'Olimpiadis, tibi dico et uobis omnibus qui mecum epulamini: hunc draconem uidi tunc quando preliatus sum cum inimicis meis.'

8. Post paucos autem dies sedens Filippus solus in palatio suo aparuit ei parua atque mitis auis uolans, et sedens in gremio eius generauit ouum, et cecedit ipsum ouum de gremio eius in terram atque confractum est. Statimque exiuit ex eo serpens paruissimus congriratusque est ouum uoluitque introire in eo (*sic*) et, antequam ibi caput mitteret, mortuus est. Quod cum uidisset rex hoc, turbatus

994 MS. bigo] ne above o and to right 1009 MS. coflich] ch blotted and partly crossed out MS. too clef] eue above f; cf. 243 1011 MS. worme] wrom *suprascript*. 1013 MS. hastely deide dyed] deide *underlined*; cf. 375, 1014

Philip for þis ferlich fast gan wende 1015
 To noble nigremauncieines þat hym nyh were
 And asked hem an answer þis aunter too reede;
 For cheef of enchauntment chosen þei were.
 'Sir,' saide one enchauntour, 'your seemely make
 Shall bere such a barn in a brem tyde 1020
 þat, by might of his maine and maistrie of kinges,
 Allso wide as þis worlde shall welden his reigne.
 Whan hee aboute hath ibene abroad in þe londes
 And iwonne at his will þe wortlych places,
 þe kith þat hee comme fro or hee com till, 1025
 Hee shall bee dolven and ded, as destenie falles.
 As þe addre of þe ai auntred aboute
 And wolde have shoten in þe schell or hee schent were,
 So shall fare by þe freke þat ferre may bee knowe.
 Whan hee hath reigned a-roum as richest of all, 1030
 Or hee may too his marche with his maine wende
 þere hee was fostred and fed, him falles too dye.'
 Now will I cease þis sawe and segge you more
 Of hym þat hight Alisaunder holly þe birth . . .

est ualde et uocauit ad se ariolum et ostendit ei ouum et serpentem et narrauit ei quemadmodum aciderat. Cui ariolus ait: 'Rex Phylippe, nascetur tibi filius qui debet regnare post tuum obitum et circuire totum mundum subiugando sibi omnes gentes, et antequam reuertatur in terram natiuitatis sue, in paruis annis morietur.'

9. Appropinquabat autem tempus parturiendi Olimpiadis et cepit a dolore torqueri uterus eius fecitque uocare ad se Anatanabum et dixit ei: 'Magister, magnis doloribus torquetur meus uterus.' Nectanabus cepit computare et dixit illi: 'Subleua te paululum, regina, a solio tuo quia hac ora omnia elementa turbata sunt a sole.' Factumque est. Recessit ab ea dolor et post paululum dixit ei Anatanabus: 'Sede, regina.' Et sedit et peperit; et ubi puer cecedit in terram, statim factus est terremotus et fulgora et tonitrua magna et signa per (*fol. 4v*) totum mundum. Tunc siquidem dilatata est nox et usque ad plurimam partem diei extendi uisa est. Tunc etiam saxa de nubibus cum grandine (*cod. grando*) mixta ceciderunt et ueris terrarum lapidibus uerberauerunt.

1022 MS. raigne] e above a 1024 MS. wortlych] worthy *superscript*
 1034 MS. birth] *catchwords follow*: Swiche fortune fel

12. 'Master, on molde what may mee befall? (fol. 17r)
 Of Philip sore am I aferd for his fell speeche; 1036
 For hee sayed too my soonne in syght of myne yie,
 Hee was purlich payed of his prise werkes;
 But hee chaunged his chere and too þe chylde sayed,
 "That þow ne art lyke mee, lude, mee lykes full yll." 1040
 Therefore my mynde and my moode is marred too care;
 For his woorde am I wrought wofull in hert.'
 'Queene,' quoth Nectanabus . . .
 For the sake of thy soonne . . .'
 The lude looked on-loft late on an eeve 1045
 And on a starre too stare hee stynt full long;
 Hee hoped to have there of his hertes desyres,
 Too catche sum cunnyng hee kest up his yie.

10. Quare Phylippus rex turbatus est nimis et tremefactus. Ingressus est ad Olimpiadem et dixit ei: 'Mulier, cogitavi in corde meo ut nullomodo nutriretur iste infantulus pro eo quod non est ex me conceptus, sed tamen intelligo hunc a deo esse conceptum quia in natiuitate eius uideo mutari elementa. Nutriatur in memoriam acsi proprius esset filius meus et quasi sit ille qui mortuus fuit mihi, quem habui ex alia uxore. Et imponatur illi nomen Alexander.'

11. Hoc dicente Phylippo, ceperunt famule nutrire infantulum cum omni diligentia. Figura illius neque patris neque matris assimilabatur, sed propriam figuram suam habebat. Coma sui capitis erat sicut coma leonis, oculi eius magnificantes et non simabantur unus ad alterum, sed unus erat niger et alter glaucus (*cod.* claucus); dentes uero eius erant acuti, impetus illius feribundus (?) sicut leonis, et qualis debeat in posterum fieri, figura illius significabatur. In scholis namque ubi sedebat cum discipulis, pugnabat cum eis atque uincebat eos et tam in litteris quam in loquelis (*cod.* loquelei?) et uelocitate antecedeat eos.

12. Et cum esset annorum duodecim, instruebatur ad pugnam sicut uidebat facere milites. Quin etiam uidens Phylippus rex uelocitatem suam, placuit ei et dixit illi: 'Filii Ale-(fol. 5r)-xander, diligo uelocitatem tuam atque ingenium animi tui, sed tristis existo quia figura tua non assimilatur mihi.' Audiens hec Olimpiadis magis timuit et uocauit ad se Nectanabum et dixit ei: 'Magister, perscrutare et intellige quid cogitet de me Phylippus facere qui dixit huic Alexandro: "Filii, diligo uelocitatem tuam atque ingenium animi tui, sed tristis existo quia figura tua non assimilatur mihi." Nectanabus hec audiens cepit computare et dicere regine: 'Cogitatio illius erga te munda est.' Solus itaque respiciebat in quandam stellam, separando ab ea desiderium suum.'

13. When Alisaunder þat sawe, hee sayed full soone,
 'Father, wherfore is þat — farly too tell — 1050
 That thou lookest on-loft so long at þis tyme?'
 'Soonne,' sayed þe segge, 'in syght I beholde
 A brem sterre and a bryght that mee best lykes.'
 'Leeve fader,' quoth þe freke 'fonde I, mee tell;
 The sterre þat yee staren on, sticketh it in hevin?' 1055
 'Yea, forsoothe, deare soonne,' sayed hee than,
 'It is in hevin full hy, beholde whoso myght.'
 'And may yee, syr,' sayed þe chylde, 'by sum maner wise,
 Schowe mee schortly in shape þat schynyng sterre?'
 'Yea, wooste þou see, my soonne, in certeyn tymes, 1060
 The merkest howre of þis nyght, ny by my syde,
 Withoute þe citie,' he sayed, 'in certeyn places,
 So, lo! myghtst þou see þat seemely sterre.'
 'That ilk for to see,' hee sayed, 'I desyre (fol. 17v)
 And I shall wend thee with when þee well lykes. 1065
 But canst þou by any craft kenne mee now
 What death dry þou shalt, by destinie shape?'
 'Yea, soonne,' sayed hee þo, 'in certein I knowe
 That I shall drye þe death in dreedefull dedes stoundes;
 By encheson of my chylde such chaunce shall fall, 1070
 But whan wott I not well, ne in what place.'
 Nectanabus in þat nyght, as hym neede thoght,
 Passeth forthe prively þe paleis without,
 The walles besyde . . .

13. Alexander itaque cum audisset hunc sermonem dixit ei: 'Pater, hec stella quam computas, hec errat (*cod. eret*) in celo?' Cui Nectanabus respondit: 'Etiam, filii.' Alexander dixit: 'Et potes eam mihi ostendere?' Nectanabus respondit: 'Sequere me hora noctis extra ciuitatem et ego ostendam tibi eam.' Alexander dixit ei: 'Pater, et fatum tuum agnoscis?' Nectanabus respondit: 'Etiam fortiter.' Alexander dixit: 'Hec causa bona est, et opto eam scire. Et quam mortem debes facere, pater, scis?' Nectanabus respondit: 'Scio quippe, filii mi, quia a filio meo debeo mori.' Et hec dicens Nectanabus descendit de palatio et secutus

Hee gooth downe by þe dyche þat deepe was of grounde;
 Evyll it is of syght . . . 1076
 'Joyfull Jupiter . . . Myrthfull Mercurie,
 The leame of his lyght lykes well my hert.'
 So hee stynted þat stounde and styrred no foote,
 Hee pored on þe planetes pass ere hee wolde . . . 1080
 Hee braides too þe bank of þe brode water,
 By þe shoulderes hym tooke and shift hym in myddes,
 With a wrathfull wyll þese woordes hee sayed,
 'Wretched worldly wyght, why wylst þou knowe
 The privitie of planetes or precious starres 1085
 Syn þou art erthly thyself? In an yll tyme
 Kaughtst þou in þat craft cunnyng of happes.
 Let them þat in hevin bee knowe hy thynges;
 That lore longes too Godde and too no lud eles.
 Thow þat worldly art wraught, thy wytt þou bisett 1090
 On every erthly thyng and ern þou nomore!'

The segge sayed this sawe sounk or hee wer,
 'Truthe have I þee tolde in tymes ypassed.'
 And with þat sawe þe soule fro þe seg hee partes.
 Alisaunder anonne-ryght armed in hert, 1095
 Hee did hym downe too þe dyche as hee no dreede had;
 Hee sprainde in a sprite and spradde it aboute . . .
 'Saye mee seemely, sunne, what þou bryngst?' (fol. 18r)

est eum Alexander hora septima extra ciuitatem. Cumque uenissent ambo super
 fossum quod erat erga murum ciuitatis, dixit ei Nectanabus: 'Filii Alexander,
 respice stellas et uide stellas: Herculis quomodo tristatur, et stella Mercurii
 letatur; stella itaque Iouis lucet clara.' Taliter respiciendo sursum Nectanabus,
 accessit ei propius Alexander et fecit impetum in eum atque proiecit eum in
 foueam que erat circa (fol. 5v) ciuitatem et dixit ei: 'Sic decet te mori, uetule!
 Sciendo terrenas causas, quare uoluisti scire secreta astrorum?' Cui Nectana-
 bus respondit: 'Cognitum mihi fuit quia sic mihi debuit euenire. Et non dixi
 tibi quia a filio meo debeo mori?' Alexander dixit: 'Ergo ego filius tuus sum?'
 Nectabanus respondit: 'Certe filius meus es tu.' Et hec dicens expirauit.

Alexander itaque pietate commotus paterna, eleuans corpus eius in humeris
 suis et portans eum in palatio, cum ergo uidisset eum Olimpiadis, dixit ei: 'Filii

'Ich have broght,' quoth þe burn, 'a ded body here
 That noble Nectanabus too name was hote.' 1100
 'Sunne,' sayed þat seemelich, 'my sorowe is þe more . . .'
 'It is thy foule fowlye þat this fare wrought,
 Your carefull conscience yee casten so large
 That yee wern no wyght but wyrch as yee lyst.'
 The queene quoth nought againe, but quickly and soone
 Too burye þat burn þe beurd gan heate. 1106
 Of this lyveles lud ne lyst mee tell;
 Of hym I cease my sawe and seche too more.

14. Ther was a prince full price of powre yholde,
 Keeper of Cappadoce that kyng Philip aught. 1110
 A huge horsse and a hy hee had that tyme,
 The moste seemely in syght þat ever seg wyst;
 Hee bore a hedde as a bole, ybrested to-ryght
 And had hard on his hedde hornes ygrow;
 Menne wern his meate that hee moste looved, 1115
 For as many as hee myght murdre hee wolde.
 Hee was bygliche ybownde on bothe twoo halves,
 Bothe his chaul and his chynne with chaynes of yren;
 Many lockes wer laft his legges aboute,
 That hee nas loose in no lime ludes to greeve, 1120
 To byte ne to braundise ne to breake no woves,
 For hee so myghty was made in all maner thynges.

Alexander, quid est hoc?' Cui ille respondit: 'Corpus Nectanabi est.' Et illa dixit: 'Nectanabus pater tuus fuit.' Alexander dixit: 'Quemadmodum stultitia tua fecit, ita est.' Et iussit eum regina sepellire.

14. In ipsis denique temporibus quidam princeps Capadocie adduxit Phylippo caballum indomitum, corpore magnum et pulcrum nimis ligatumque ex omni parte catenis ferreis; commedebat enim homines et dicebatur ipse caballus Bucefalus propter aspectus (*cod.* acceptus) toruitate <m> seu ab insignis; quia taurinum caput in armo habebat ustum seu qui <a> de fronte eius quedam minime corniculorum protuberabant. Cumque uidisset Phylippus rex pulcritudi-

Of such a body as hee bore, þe blonke so sterne,
 Was never steede in no stede þat stynt upon erth . . .
 Let greete hym with God and goode wyll . . . 1125
 Intoo meery Macedoine þe messengeres þei camme,
 From what kith þei camme cosly they tolde . . .
 And their presaunt of price proffred hym tyll.
 Hee had blyss of þat beaste and blythely hym thanks . . .
 Dupe as a dunjoun dyked in erth, 1130
 All about bygged with barres of yern.
 Therefore þe kyng had cast too keepe þat steede (fol. 18v)
 In þat cave craftely enclosed with gynne;
 For if a trayter wer ytake in tyme thereafter,
 Or any thriftles theefe for thynges accused, 1135
 They shoolde bee cast in þat cave too þat keene blonk
 And bee devoured with doole, as þe doome wolde.
 Anon as ever þe nyght nyied on erth,
 Philip farde too bedde and fell on a sleepe.
 Of a myghtfull godde hee mett þat tyme, 1140
 That on his bedsyde satt and þis sawe tolde:
 'Who prickes on a playne feelde þe perelous beaste,
 Hee shall raigne as a ryng ryall and noble
 And bee kyng of thy kith, knyghtes too leade,
 When þou art doone and dedde and thy daye endes.' 1145

15. When Alisaunder was of age, as I shall tell,
 Of full fiteene yere faren too þe end,

nem caballi, dixit ministris suis: 'Recipite hunc caballum et preparate illi cancella ferrea et ibi recludite eum ut raptores et latrones et qui legibus debunt mori et comedi a feris comedantur ab isto caballo.' Factumque est.

Interea Philippus rex (cod. res) accepit responsum (fol. 6r) a diis quod ille debet regnare post eius mortem qui hunc caballum ferocem equitauerit; et propterea expectabat Philippus rex fidutiam ipsius caballi.

15. Alexander autem cum esset annorum quindecim, factus est uir fortis,

1130 MS. Dupe] ee above u; cf. 1154 1131 MS. bygge 1136 MS. keene
 blonk] Sk. kene 1142 MS. Tho priked on] emend. Sk.

Hee was hardye and hende happes to fond,
 And such wys of his witt in wordly thynges.
 Lered on letrure was þe lud then, 1150
 And of Latin þe lore lellich hee wyst.
 In a tyme betyd, as I tell after,
 That many menne of Attenes with myckle ooþer peeple
 Did þem forthe on a day by þe dupe cave
 There þe steede in stode strayned in bondes. 1155
 They sawe lygge in theyr looke legges and armes,
 Fayre handes and feete freaten too the bonne
 Of menne þat myslych wer murdred therin,
 By juysses unjoyfull jugged too death.
 When Alisaunder was ware of þe wylde beaste, 1160
 That was of body so bolde, bremlych yshaped,
 Too hym hee heelde forthe his hand. þe horss it
 awaytes; (fol. 197)
 Hee layed þe neck oute-along and lycked his handes
 And sythe hee foldes his feete and falles too þe grounde
 And abowed to þe burn on his best wysse. 1165
 When Alisaunder so sawe in his syght there
 How þe steede was styll and no stryfe made,
 Bale thoght þat burn too bynde þat steede,
 That so meeke was of moode and made no noyes.
 Hee unclosed þe cave, unclainte þe barres, 1170

audax, et sapiens; didicerat enim pleniter omnes liberales artes ab Aristotile et Callistene et Anaximene Atheniensibus (*cod.* Amaxina et Hemense). Quadam die cum transisset per illum locum in quo stabat ipse indomitus caballus et uidens illum inclusum esse intus cancella ferrea et ante eum iactantem summam man<u>um ac pedum hominum que illi de pastu remanserant, et miratus est ualde, et mittens manum suam per cancellum statimque extendit collum suum ipse caballus et cepit lambere manus illius atque complicatis pedibus proiecit se in terram erigensque caput respiciebat Alexandrum. In hoc itaque facto intelli-

1149 MS. wordly] *Sk.* worldly 1154 MS. Deepe] u above ee; cf. 1130 1160 MS. wylde b.] *emend. Sk.* 1165 MS. abowed þe burn] *emend. Sk.* MS. wysse] *Sk.* wyse 1168 MS. thoght] *Sk.* thought

And straihte into þe stede, stroked hym fayre;
 Hee raught forthe his right hand and his rigge frotus
 And coies hym as he kan with his clene handes.
 þan hee loses his lockes, his legges unbyndes,
 That hee nas fast in no foote bifore ne bihynde. 1175
 Therof þe blonk was blythe and blainte no furre
 But meeke was of maneres withoute mischanche.
 Was nere lambe in no land lower of chere,
 No hownde to his hous-lorde so hende to queme,
 þat was lever to lyke þe lude þat hym aught, 1180
 þen was þe blonk to þe beurn þat hym bistint.

16. þan wendes þis weih þe cave withoute
 And þe horss with his hand hendely brings;
 Soone hee leapes on-loft and lete hym worthe
 To faire as hym lyst faine, in feelde or in towne. 1185
 The steede strauht on his gate and stired hym under
 And wrought no wod res but his waye holdes.

When Sire Philip gan see þe seg so too ryde
 And his blonk behelde abated of wrath,
 Of þe michel meekenes marveil hee had, 1190
 That þe steede so stern stynt of his fare.
 Hee sayde, 'Sonne Alisaunder, of þis same chaunce (fol. 19v)
 Iche had mynde in my slepe, by metyng fownde:

gens Alexander uoluntatem caballi, aperuit cancellum et ingressus est ad eum et cepit mansuete tangere dorsum eius manu dextra. Tunc ipse caballus cepit mansuescere illi amplius; sicut quando blanditur canis a domino suo, sic et ille blanditur Alexandro.

16. Hoc autem cum uidisset Alexander, ascendens super eum et equitando exit foras. Cum ergo uidisset eum Phylippus rex, dixit ei: 'Filii Alexander, omnia responsa deorum cognoui in te quia tu debes regnare post mortem meam.'

1176 MS. furre] i above u 1177 MS. mischaunce] che above unce 1179 MS. his hous] untes above us 1184 MS. hym worche] t above c 1185 MS. To fare] i above and between a and r 1191 MS. stynt] ed above t and to right 1192 MS. Hee sayde] Sk. He sayde

A greate glisiande god grathly mee tolde
 That þou shalt raigne, when I royte, on my ryche londes.'
 'Faper,' sayde þe freke, 'if þou foreknowes 1196
 That I shall leade thy landes when thy life endes,
 Let mee be proved as prince in pres where I wend
 And fende mee finliche well, to fonde my strength.'
 Of this bounden beaste blynne we þe speche; 1200
 Of King Philip þe keene karp wee now.

When Philip had with his folke faren on Greece
 And taken trespure ynough in townes full riche,
 Hee hurd tell of a towne thriftily walled,
 A citie sett by peece with full siker wardes. 1205
 'Byzaunce þe bolde sted' was þe borowe hote;
 None better hym aboute þat any beurn wyst.
 It was chosen for cheefe to cheffaren in,
 And many merchauntes þerin þat much goode aught.
 All þe lordes of þe lond — þat large was founde — 1210
 Helde it hur cheefe holde when happe camme of warre.
 Many menne of þe Easte, of merchauntes ynow,
 Wer brought to þe borowe too biggen and sell.
 No defaute nas founde in þat faire place;
 On every syde þe sea ofsouhte the walles. 1215
 Pausanias a pris king, none prester ifounde

Cui Alexander dixit: 'Pater si, fieri hoc potest, dirige me sedentem in curru[m].'

OROSIUS

(iii, 13, 1-3) Sed haec cum per aliquantas Graeciae ciuitates exercuisset et tamen omnes metu premeret, coniciens ex praeda paucorum opes omnium, ad perficiendam aequalem in uniuersis uastationem utili emolimento necessariam

1195 MS. rotte] royte *suprascript* 1200 MS. blynne speche] *emend. Sk.*
 1203 MS. take] n above e and to right Byzan-/tium is written in the left-hand
 margin opposite 1203, 1204 1215 MS. of souhte] f(or?) above s; saftie above hte

While hym lasted his lyfe, on his lond riche
 Let build þe borowe too byde therin
 When hee was ferkid with fyght of his fone grimme.
 That bolde borou Byzance, þat buyld was to-rihtus, (*fol. 20r*)
 Was called syn in þat coste Constantinoble. 1221
 Of Roome a riche emperour þat reigned sythe, —
 Constantine hee was cleped, a knyght well-alosed,
 The sonne of Saint Elaine, þe seemelich ladie
 That weihs worshipen yet for hur werk hende, — 1225
 A neew name too þat borowe hee named þan
 And called it Constantinople þat knowen is wyde.
 For þat staleworthe sted so strong was founded,
 Philip hoped þat holde with his help to wynne,
 For too keepe in that kith cumlich and riche 1230
 All his tresour ytryed; for, in tresoun or gyle,
 That none robbed þe rink of þese riche thynges.

Philip with his ferefull folke fast hym arayes
 For too proven his pride at þe pris borowe.
 Forthe rydes þe kyng with his route huge 1235
 And hath þe citie besett on sydes aboute;
 On floode and on faire lond his folke gan hee sett,
 3if hee myght derie with dint þat dereworthe place.
 This seg biseeged so þe citie full long,
 With all þe maine þat hee myght made his assautes; 1240
 But all þe ludes þat hee ladde, for love ne for aie,
 No myght apeire þe place of a peny-brede;

maritimam urbem ratus, Byzantium, nobilem ciuitatem, aptissimam iudicauit, ut receptaculum sibi terra marique fieret, eamque obsistentem ilico obsidione cinxit. Haec autem Byzantium quondam a Pausania rege Spartanorum condita, post autem a Constantino Christiano principe in maius aucta et Constantinopolis dicta, gloriossimi nunc imperii sedes et totius caput Orientis est.

1221 *MS.* Constantinople] b *above* p 1225 *MS.* wighes] weihs *suprascript*
and underlined 1228 *MS.* staleworthe] *Sk.* stalworthe 1229] *MS.* For Philip
 hoped] *emend. Sk.* 1234 *MS.* borowe] e *above second* o 1241 *MS.* awe] aie
suprascript.

For þat freelich freke, as I fore tolde,
The kid knight Pausanias þat king was of Spart
That borowe in his best state let build so strong
That all þe wightes in þe worlde it wyne ne myght
But 3if fode lacked too ludes within.

1245

Philippus uero post longam et inritam obsidionem . . .

ALEXANDER B

90. Whan þis weith at his wil weduring hadde, *(fol. 209r)*
 Ful raþe rommede he rydinge þedirre.
 To Oxidrace wiþ his ost Alixandre wendus,
 þere wilde contré was wist and wondurful peple
 þat weren proved ful proude and prys of hem helde. 5
 Of bodi wente þei bar wiþoute any wede
 And hadde grave on þe ground many grete cavys,
 þere here wonnyng was wyntyrys and somerus.
 No syté nor no sur stede soþli þei ne hadde,
 But holus holwe in þe ground to hiden hem inne. 10
 þe proude Genosophistiens were þe gomus called —
 Now is þat name to mene ‘þe nakid wise.’
 Wan þe kiddeste of þe cavus, þat was king holde,
 Hurde tiþinge telle and toknyng wiste,
 þat Alixandre wiþ his ost atlede þidire, 15
 To be holden of hem hure hiezest prynce,
 þanne weies of worschipe wittie and quainte
 Wiþ his lettres he let to þe lud sende.
 þanne southte þei sone þe forsaide prynce,
 And to þe schamlese schalk schewden hur lettres; 20
 þanne raþe let þe rink reden þe sonde,
 þat newe tiþinge it tolde in þis wise.

HISTORIA DE PRELIIS, J²

90. Deinde amoto exercitu uenit ad [r]Osidraces. Oxidraces enim non sunt superbi homines neque pugnant cum aliqua gente. Nudi ambulant et habitant in tigiuriis et in spelluncis, non habentes ciuitatem neque habitationem et uocantur Gi<m>nosophyste, id est ‘nudi sapientes.’ Cum audisset rex gentis huius aduentum Alexandri, misit ad eos honoratos suos cum epistola continente[m] ita:

'þe gentil Genosophistiens þat goode were of witte,
 To þe Emperour Alixandre here answerus wreten,
 þat is worschipe of word worþi to have 25
 And is conquerour kid in contrés manie.
 Us is sertefied, seg, as we soþ heren,
 þat þou hast ment wiþ þi men amongus us fare.
 But 3if þou, king, to us come wiþ caire to fighthe,
 Of us getist þou no good, gome, we þe warne. 30
 For what richesse, rink, us miȝht þou bireve
 Whan no wordliche wele is wiþ us founde?
 We ben sengle of ussilt and semen ful bare,
 Nouht welde we now but naked we wende;
 And þat we happili her haven of kynde 35
 May no man but God maken us tine.
 þei þou fonde wiþ þi folk to fighthe wiþ us alle,
 We schulle us kepe oncauȝt oure cavus wiþinne;
 Nevere werrede we wiþ wiȝth upon erþe,
 For we ben hid in oure holis or we harm lacche.' 40
 þus saide soþli þe sonde þat þei sente hadde.
 And also cof as þe king kende þe sawe,
 Newe lettres he let þe ludus bitake,
 And wiþ his sawus of soþ he sikurede hem alle
 þat he wolde fare wiþ his folk in a faire wise 45
 To biholden here hom and non harm wirke.
 So haþ þe king to hem sente and siþen wiþ his peple
 Kairus cofli til hem to kenne of hure fare.
 But whan þei sien þe seg wiþ so manie ryde,
 þei were agrisen of his grym and wende gref þolie. 50

'Corruptibiles Gimnososphiste Alexandro homini scribimus. Audiuius quod uenias super nos. Quodsi pugnaturus ueneris, nichil lucri acquies, quia quod tollere uel auferre a nobis non inuenies, et illud quod habemus, per naturam habemus, et nullomodo audet <ali> quis inde [quis] aliquid tollere <nisi quantum diuina prouidentia concesserit>. Quodsi pugnaturus ueneris pugna, <scias> quia nos simplicitatem nostram nullomodo dimittemus.'

Lecta igitur Alexander hac epistola mandauit illis dicendo: 'Et nos pacifici ueniemus ad uos.'

Faste heiede þei to holis and hiddem þere,
 And in þe cavus hem kepte fro þe king sterne.
 þanne weren from hem went wifis and children,
 Wiþ oþur bestus aboute þat hem bi ferde.

Aftur ferde Alixandre and askede hem sone, 55
 By ludus of þe langage how þei leve miȝhte
 And ȝif þei ne hadde none holis on þe holw erþe,
 As hadde þe weies þat were here wordliche makus.
 þanne þei caire wiþ þe king hur cavus to schewe,
 And kennen þe conquerour hur costomus alle, 60
 And saide, 'Seg, to ussifl sofsen þis cavus;
 Of oþur hous þan her arne have we no nede.'
 Whan alle þei til Alixandre hadde answeie iȝoulde,
 þe king cortais ikid coffliche saide,
 'For I have founde ȝou folk faifful of speche 65
 Me to lere of ȝour lif withoute les tale,
 ȝernes now of my ȝift þat ȝou leve were,
 And what it be þat ȝe bidde ȝour bonus I graunte.'
 þanne saide þei, 'Wordlich weiȝ, we wische of þei ȝifte
 Ai-lastinge lif to lacchen upon erþe: 70
 þat us derye no deþ desire we nouþe,
 For oþur wordliche won at wille we have.'
 'Nai, sertus,' saide þe noble, 'þat may not be graunted
 Of me þat miȝhteles am mysifl so to kepe.
 I am sikur of mysifl to suffre min ende; 75
 I ne have no lordschipe of lif to lengþe my daies.'

Et ingressus Alexander ad eos intuensque eos ambulare nudos et hab<it>are in abditis tigiuriis et spelluncis — filii uero et uxores eorum separati ab illis ambulantes cum animalibus — tunc interrogauit eos dicens: 'Non habetis sepulcra uobis?' At illi ostenderunt ei tigiuros et spelluncas (*fol. 49v*) in quibus habitabant et dixerunt ad eum: 'Hic concubitus sufficit per singulos.' Mox Alexander dixit ad eos: 'Petite mihi quicquid uultis et dabo uobis.' Cui illi dixerunt: 'Dona nobis immortalitatem quam optamus habere, quia de omnibus diuites sumus.' Quibus Alexander respondit: 'Mortalis cum sim, immortalitatem nullatenus dare possum.' At illi dixerunt: 'Et si mortalis es, quare uadis

'Seg,' saide þei again, 'syn þou so knowist
 þat þe is demed þe deþ to dure nouht longe,
 Whi farest þou so fihtinge folk to distroie,
 And for to winne þe word wendest so romme? 80
 How miȝht þou kepe þe of sckaþe with skile and with troupe
 Aȝeins ryht to bireve rengnus of kingus?'
 þanne agayn saide þe gome wiþ a good chere,
 'þorou þe grace of God I gete þat I have.
 þei han demed me or deþ, þorou dintus of miȝhte 85
 Of erþe to be emperour in everych a saide.
 Sin I have grace of þat graunt grimmest to worþe,
 I wrouthe wrecheli now and wrapede Drihten,
 ȝif I for dul of any deþ my destenê fledde
 þat is markid to me and to no mo kingus. 90
 Men seþ wel þat þe see seseþ and stinteþ
 But whan þe wind on þe watur þe wawus arereþ; (fol. 209v)
 So wolde I reste me raþe and ride ferþe,
 Nevere to gete more good no no gome derie,
 Bute as þe heie hevene goodus wiþ herteli þouhtus 95
 So awecchen my wit and my wil chaungen
 þat I mai stinte no stounde stille in o place,
 þat I ne am temted ful tid to turne me þennus.
 And sin we wetin hur wil to worschen on erþe,
 We mowe be sopliche isaid hur servauntus hende. 100
 ȝif God sente every gome þat goþ upon molde
 Wordliche wisdam and wittus iliche,
 Betur miȝhte no burn be þan an oþur;
 Apere miȝhte þe pore to parte wiþ þe riche.
 þanne ferde þe worlde as a feld þat ful were of bestes, 105
 Whan everi lud liche wel lyvede upon erþe.

discurrendo et faciendo tanta et talia mala?' Quibus Alexander respondit: 'Ista enim causa non gubernatur <nisi> a superna providentia; ministri eius <sumus>, facientes uoluntatem eius. Scitis quod mare nullomodo turbatur nisi cum uentus ingressus fuerit in eo. Volo enim quiescere et recedere amplius, sed dominus sensus mei non permittit me hoc facere. Si omnes unius intelli-

For þat enchesoun God ches oþur chef kingus,
 þat scholde maistrus be maad ovur mene peple;
 And me is markid to be most of alle oþure,
 Forþi y chase to cheve as chaunce is me demed.' 110

105. Whan þis sawe was said, þe semliche prynce
 Fro þe foresaide folk fondes to ride.
 þanne he farus to a feld ful fair and ful large,
 þat stod on an hie stede astored wiþ frutus.
 þere sai he semliche tres wiþ þe sonne woxe, 115
 þat frut baren hem above on bowus ful þikke;
 And also sone as þe sonne sesede to schine,
 þat don was þe day fordon of þe cloudus,
 þe tres seseden of sight and sonken to gronde,
 þat frekus miȝht no friþ no no frut kenne. 120
 As raþe as þe sonne ros and reed gan schine,
 þat his lem on þe loft liȝht ȝaf aboute,
 þe tres spradden hure spraies and spronngen on hiȝþe,
 And grete grouuede frut on þe grene braunchus.
 þanne comaundede þe king cofli to feche 125
 Of þat freliche frut þat þe frekus siee
 þanne . . . a bold kniht and to a bow stirte,
 þe sote-saverede frut sone to pulle.
 But also raþe as þe rink gan þe ris touche,
 Doun fel he wiþ dul, ded in þe place; 130

gentie fuissemus, totus hic mundus sicut ager unus fuisset.' Et hec dicens dimisit eos inlesos.

105. Deinde amoto exercitu uenit <in campum> in quo erant arbores mire excelsitudinis, que cum sole oriebantur et cum sole occidebant, id est ab ora diei prima exiebant desubtus terram et crescebant usque ad oram sextam; ab ora autem sexta (*fol. 50r*) usque ad occasum solis descendebant subtus terram. Iste enim arbores ferebant fructus odoriferos. Et statim ut uidit Alexander eas, precepit uni militi suo ut accederet ad eas et tolleret ex fructu ipsarum et addu-

118 *MS.* þat siȝt don] *emend. Sk.*
 þanne a bold] *Sk. supplies* buskede
 389, 1085

125 *MS.* þanne] *Sk. þan* 127 *MS.*
 129 *MS.* But as so] *emend Sk.; cf. 214,*

And siþen sent was a vois sone fro hevene,
 þat non trinde þe tres last þei taried were.
 For everi grene-growe tre þat on þe ground spronge
 Hadde bremliche a brid þe braunchus alofte,
 þat whan þer buskede a burn a bow for to touche, 135
 þei spatten sparclus of fir and spilden him raþe.

98. As sone þe king sai þat it so ferde,
 He dide him forþ to flod þat Phison is called,
 þat writen is in Holi Wriht and wrouht so to name.
 From perlese Paradis passeþ þe stronde; 140
 In cost þere þe king was men callede hit Gena,
 As was þe langage of þe lond wiþ ludus of Inde.
 þere made þe Mascedoinus king his men for to stinte
 And bi þe banke of þe strem he biggede his tentus.
 þanne þe Mascedoinus men in þe men tyme 145
 Biþonde Phisonus flod saien folk rome.
 Forþi bad þe bolde king þat burnus of Inde
 Scholde talken hem til and tidliche enquire,
 þe name of hure nacion nedli to knowe;
 For miche wilnede þe weizht to witen of here fare. 150
 Ride miȝhte nouht þe rink ovur þe romme stronde
 For þe wormus þat were bi þe watir founde.
 For, outtaken .viij. wokus of al þe twelf monþe —
 þat is soþli to saie þe sesoun of Juli

ceret ei. Ille uero habiit, ut tolleret ex fructu earum; statimque mortuus est. Et statim audiere uocem de celo precipientem illis ut nullus quidem accederet proprius ad ipsas arbores, quia quisquis propius ad eas accesserit, statim morietur. Erant enim in ipso campo similiter aues mitissime. Qui autem uolebant eas tangere, exiebat ignis ex eis et incendebat eos.

98. Et exinde amoto exercitu uenit ad fluuium Gangem quod Physo<n> Sacra Scriptura memorat, et castra metatus est. Respicentesque Macedones ultra flumen uiderunt ibi homines deambulare, quos iussit Alexander Indica lingua inter<r>ogare qui essent. At illi dixerunt quod Bragmani essent. Habebat Alexander desiderium magnum loqui cum Brangmanis, sed minime potuit

And Hervest þat hastily aftyr him folweþ — 155
 Dredful dragonus drawen hem þiddire,
 Addrus and ypotamus and oþure ille wormus,
 And careful cocodrillus þat þe king lette.
 For skape of þe scorpionus askape þei ne miȝhte,
 So rive romede þei þe river biside. 160
 As prest as þe pris king sai his pres stinte,
 þat he fer wiþ his folk fare ne miȝhte
 For þe bestus of bale þat bi þe watur ferde
 And harm of þe hound-fich þat hovede þerinne,
 Of þe seggus þat he sai biȝonde þe side stronde 165
 He dide calle for to come to carpen him tille.
 Whan þei hurden is houp hastiliche aftur
 A lud to a litil boot lepus in haste,
 And raþe to þe riche king rowmus alone, (fol. 210r)
 And aftur of Alixandre askeþ his wille. 170
 A wel-langaged lud let þe king sone
 Asprien ful spedliche bi speche of þe lande,
 In what kyþ were þei kid and what hit called were,
 And ho were lord of hur land and ledere of alle.
 'We were in Bragmanie bred,' saide þe burn þanne, 175
 'And Dindimus þe dere king our demere is holde.'
 'Sertus,' saide Alixandre, 'þi sawe me quemus,
 Me haþ longe to ȝour land liked to wende;
 Wiþ ȝou to carpe in þis kiþ covaitede y ȝorne;

transire ipsum flumen cum exercitu suo, eo quod erant in ipso multi ypotami et
 scorpiones et cocodrilli qui omni tempore ambulabant per ipsum flumen (fol.
 50v) excepto mense Iulio et Augusto; nescio pro qua causa non apparent ibi.
 Cum uidisset Alexander quod nullomodo possent transire per ipsum propter
 dictas belluas, uocari fecit ipsos Bragmanos quos uiderat ultra flumen. Et
 statim unus ex ipsis cum parua naucula nauigans uenit ad ipsum. Mox Alex-
 ander dedit ei unam epistolam ut portaret eam ad Dindimum continentem ita:

162 MS. flok] *emend. Sk.*; cf. 202, 237, 295 166 MS. Ho dide] cf. 696. 169
 MS. romwus

For miche, ludus, of 3our lif listned ich have.' 180
 þanne let þe lordliche king lettres endite,
 And þereon settus his sel and siþen hem takus
 To þe burn on his bot and bad him in haste
 To þe king of hur kiþ carien his sonde.
 þanne whitli þe weiht ouur þe watur sterus 185
 And þe lettrus to his lord ledus ful sone.
 As sone as his king say þat sonde him yprofred,
 He hit lacchus of þe lud and lokus þerinne.
 And 3if 3e, ludus, have list þe lettrus to knowe,
 Tendeþ how þis tale is titeled þerinne. 190
 'þe kidde king Alixandre þat couþ is in erþe,
 þat name haþ of nobleté and nevere man dradde,
 þat grete god Amon in graciouce timus
 Bigat on Olimpias þe onurable quene,
 Dindimus þe dere king doþ for to grete, 195
 þat lord of Bragmanus lond and ledere is holde,
 And in þis same wise saiþ and sendeþ him goie
 And til alle þat arn aftur him þare.
 We han, ludus, of 3our lif listned ful ofte,
 þat michil ben 3our manerus fram oþur men varied. 200
 For 3e non erþe ne eren þat erne 3ou miȝhte
 Fode for to fare wiþ as oþur folk usen.
 On se saile 3e nouht in sesoun of 3ere
 For to fihche on þe fom or finde any praie.
 But litil leve we þat, lud, I þe warne; 205
 Forþi biseche y þe, seg, 3if it soþ were,

Epistola. 'Rex regum Alexander ad regem Bragmanorum. Filius dei regis Amonis et regine Olimpiadis, Dimdimo regi Bragmanorum gaudium.

Audiuimus denique per multas uices quod uita uestra et mores multum sunt separati ab aliis hominibus uita et moribus, etiam ut nullum adiutorium queras- tis neque de terra neque de mari, quod minime credimus. Sed tamen si hoc

197 MS. sendeþ him gon] cf. 254 201 MS. erþe ne cren] *emend. Sk.*; cf. 726, 812, 921 202 MS. flok] *emend. Sk.*; cf. 162.

Send me tipinge tid and tel me þe soþe,
 þat y may witen of 3our werk and of 3our wonus alle.
 For 3if men saiþ bi 3ow soþ þe sawe þat y hirde,
 Of more mervailouse men miȝhte I nouht kenne. 210
 3if y wisdam or wit in 3our werk finde,
 þat God aloweþ 3our lif and likeþ 3our dedes,
 Y schal 3our costomus, king, covaite to holde,
 And fonde sor bi miȝht 3our fare to suwe;
 For fram þe 3ouþe of my 3er 3erned ich have 215
 Of wide werkus to wite and wisdam lere.
 We weren tauht in oure time and tendide lorus
 Of oure doctourus dere demed for wise,
 þat non hapel undur hevene so holi is founde,
 þat mihte alegge any lak our lif to reprove. 220
 But for y, ludus, of 3oure lif swich a los hurde,
 þat we discorden of dede in many done þinguus,
 And þat 3our doctours dere don 3ou to knowe
 þe best lorus of lif and lawus of wise,
 And we 3ou praien, sire prince, prestly me sende 225
 Alle þe lorus of 3our lif in lettres aseled;
 And y bihote 3ou her unharmed to leve.
 For more may hit in cas 3ou menske þan greve;
 Whan may hit greven a man þat mich good knowiþ
 To carpe of his konninge and kenne hit til oþure? 230
 For þe wers is no weih, wis 3if he seme,

uerum est, multum estis mirabiles homines. Proinde per has litteras uos multum
 rogando mandamus ut, si uerum est, annuntietis hoc nobis et, si per sapientiam
 hoc facitis et si potest fieri, sequar et ego uitam uestram, quia semper ab infantia
 mea studium habui(?) discendi. Sicut etenim docemur a nostris doctoribus
 quod uita uestra inreprehensibilis sit a bene uiuentibus. Sed quia audiuius de
 uobis quod supra sapientiam quam didicistis a uestris doctoribus aliam (*fol. 51r*)
 obseruatis doctrinam, proinde ualde rogando uos mittimus ut sine aliqua tardi-
 tate hoc nobis dicendo mandetis, quia uobis nullum dampnum exinde adueniet
 <et nobis fortisan aliquid utile exinde accrescet>; bona enim causa et utilis est

pouȝ he finde oþur folk folewen his dedus.
 Of a torche þat is tend tak an ensample:
 þat pouȝ ludus of þe lem lihtede an hundred,
 Hit scholde nouht lesen his liht no þe latur brenne 235
 While þe weke and þe waxe unwasted lasteþ.
 And so it farus bi folk þat fain is to teche:
 Hit wastep no wisdam weihes to lere.
 Forþi busiliche, burn, we bidde þe nouþe
 Wiþoute taringing of time tiþinge sende 240
 Of þat we ȝernen of ȝou ful ȝare to kenne,
 To witen of þe wisdam þat ȝe wiþ faren.'

99. Whan dereworþe Dindimus þe enditinge hurde
 Of Alixandre askinge as he write hadde,
 Oþir lettrus he let of hur lif write 245
 And agyn to þe gome goodliche he sente.
 As cof as hit come was þere þe king dwelde,
 In þis manere dide þe man þe massage arede.
 'þe dere King Dindimus, þe doctour of wise, (fol. 210v)
 þat lord of Bragmanus lond alosed is þare, 250
 To Emperour Alixandre, egest of princis,
 þat is grimmet igrowe and grettest of kingus,
 Sendep lettres of lowe and to þe lud writes
 Miche gret tiþinge of grace and grauntinge of joie.

quod habere<t> homo commune cum altero homine, quia nullum dampnum
 est homini de bonitate, quando alterum sic facit bonum quomodo est et ille.
 Nam talis causa est qualis si habuerit homo faculam accensam et plures ho-
 mines suas faculas de ipsa accenderint, et illa non perdit suum lumen et alias
 faculas lucere facit. Et sic est de bonitate hominis. Unde iterum atque iterum
 ualde uos rogamus ut sine aliqua tarditate innotescatis nobis hoc unde uos ro-
 gando mandamus.'

99. Recepta itaque Dindimus hac epistola legit et scripsit ei epistolam con-
 tinentem ita:

Epistola Dimdimi ad Alexandrum. 'Dimdimus Bragmanorum didasculus

236 MS. þe waxs vnwastep] *emend. Sk.*; for unwasted cf. yhanted, 988 237
 MS. flok] *emend. Sk.*; cf. 162 254 MS. miche grettiþinge

Bi þi message, man, þat þou to me sentest, 255
 Whan we sihen þi sonde wiþ þi sel prented,
 We kenden þi covaitise and þat þou, king, wilnest
 þe rihtewisnesse wite þat to a weih longus.
 In þat alowe I þe, lud, þat þe lef were
 þe beste lawe to lere and lorus of witte; 260
 For riht wisdam is worþ al þe world riche.
 For non emperour on erþe þat evere was founde,
 þat wantede wisdam his wihes to gye,
 Mihte lordschipe lache of oþur low peple;
 Bute þe loweste þat livede his lord mihte worþe 265
 And wiþ him fare as a fol þat failede his wittus.
 Neþeles, sire noble king, y þe now warne,
 To oure painede peple impossible hit semeþ
 þat 3e oure manerus mihte mekliche endure
 Or in þe lif þat we live laste any while; 270
 For oure lif and oure lawe unlich is to 3oure,
 And al luþur bileve we loþen in herte.
 Al þe dedes þat 3e don discorden til oure;
 For we ne grete noht þe godus þat 3e gode holden.
 Of þat þou senteste, sire king, to say þe truþe 275
 Of al þe lore of our lif wiþoute long dwelle,
 Haþel, for þin hendschipe have us exkused,
 For we ne konne þe nouht kenne our costomus alle.

Alexandro regi gaudium. Congnouimus per uestras litteras quod desideratis scire quid sit perfecta sapientia; uerumtamen in hoc cognoscimus te multum esse sapientem et ualde laudamus quod scire desideras perfectam sapientiam que melius est omni regno, quia imperator qui nescit sapientiam non dominatur ille subiectis, sed subiecti dominantur illi (*cod. ille*). Tamen impossibile nobis uidetur ut uos (*fol. 51v*) possitis tenere uitam et mores nostros, <quia nostra doctrina multum est separata a uestra>, quia neque deos colimus quos uos colitis neque uitam tenemus quam uos tenetis. Vellemus denique uobis petere ueniam pro hac causa unde nos mandasti super omnia rogando, quia nichil prodest, si uobis scribimus de uita et consuetudine nostra, quia tempus non habetis ad legendum,

þouȝh I, lud, of our lif lettrus þe sende,
 Prince, hit profiteþ nouht to preche of oure dedus; 280
 ȝe ne have no tome no time to tende my sawus,
 For ȝe so busiliche ben, wiþ, aboute þe werre.
 But say þou nouht, sire king, for sake of envie
 þat me were loþ of our lif ludus to teche;
 For as michel as y may in minde biþenke, 285
 Bi þis aselede sonde sobliche I telle:

We bredde breþurne in God, Bragmanus pore,
 Leden clanliche our lif and libben as simple.
 We ne wilne in þis world to wolde no more,
 Bute as we simpleliche our lif sostaine mowe. 290
 We ben to penance iput and poverté drien;
 We holde hit nedful to nime þat nouht may be wastid.

Hit is no leve in oure lawe þat we land erie
 Wiþ no scharpede schar to schape þe forwes,
 Ne sette solow on þe feld, ne sowe non erþe, 295
 In ony place of þe plow to plokke wiþ oxen,
 Ne in no side of þe se to saile wiþ nettus,
 Of þe finnedede fihs our fode to lacche.
 For to hauke ne hunte have we no leve,
 Ne foure-fotede best ferke to kille; 300
 Ne to faren in þe feld and fonde wiþ slyhþe
 For to refe þe brod of briddus of hevene.

eo quod es[tis] occupatus in causis bellorum. Sed ne dicas quia pro inuidia hoc facerem, quantumcumque potero de hac scribere unde nos rogando mandastis, scribam.

Nos etenim Bragmanes simplicem et puram uitam ducimus, nullam pecuniam facimus et nolumus plus habere nisi quantum ratio nostre nature est. Omnia compatimur et sustinemus, illud dicimus esse necessarium quod non est superfluum.

Apud nos illicitum est arare campum cum uomere et terram seminare et boues ad currum iungere et retia mittere ad comprehendendos pisces aut aliquas uenationes facere siue de quadrupedibus siue de auibus celi. Habundanter enim

And whan we faren to fed we finde no faute:
 We han so michel at þe mel þat we no more wilne.
 Oþir goodis to gete give we no tente, 305
 Ne oþir daintéys dere desire we none
 þan oure modur of mete may us forþbringe,
 þat we kennen for kinde and callen þe 'erþe.'
 Sche us norscheþ at nede and inow sendeþ,
 Wiþoute swet oþur swink swich as 3e haven. 310
 Hit ne is no leve in our land þat ludus þerinne
 Scholde more of hure mete þan mesure take;
 Forþei sounde we be seie and sike in no time,
 Bute helþe have we hir til we henne passe.
 To Godus pay is our peple in bettur point founde, 315
 Him to loven as hur lord and like him to serve,
 þan fale oþir folk ben þat fillen hure wombe
 And nimen more þan inow whan no ned were.
 We maken no medisine no no man prayen
 Wiþ ony habelene help to helyn oure bodius. 320
 We han a sertaine somme asingned of 3erus,
 Whan we schulle lese þis lif and laste no more;
 For we mowe tellen our time whan þe time fallus.
 For litil lengure a lud liveþ þan an oþir;
 But bi co ge of kynde, as Hevene King demus,
 We schal doute þe deþ whan þe day fallus; 326
 Bi an ordre of oure kinde whan we holde waxen,
 Whan mihte lakken our limus and lesen our hete,

annonam habemus et nullam aliam adonam querimus nisi quam mater nostra
 producit sine hominis labore. De talibus cibis implemus mensas nostras qui
 nobis non nocent; etiam et de ipsis cibis non implemus multum uentrem nostrum,
 quia illicitum est apud nos extendere uentrem. Idcirco sumus sine aliqua egritu-
 dine, sed dum uiuimus, sanitatem semper habemus. Nullam medicinam nobis
 facimus, nullum adiutorium (*fol. 52r*) nobis querimus pro sanitate nostrorum
 corporum. Uno termino mortis uita nostra finitur, quia non uiuit unus plus
 altero, sed secundum ordinem sue natiuitatis unusquisque termino mortis suc-

We schulle forleten oure lif and leve þat þe soule
 To him þat schop us to schap schal fare to blisse. 330
 For no cold þat us comeþ in oure kinde age
 We ne faren to no fir our fingrus to warme;
 Of bodi hole we ben and no bale fele.
 Ay we founden to fle flechliche lustus;
 We maken þorou mekenesse alle manir þingus 335
 þat mihte us soile wiþ sinne sese in a while.
 I rede þat þe, riche emperour, ful raþe þat þou founde
 T' ouyrcomen enemis þat arn þe wiþinne;
 For haddest þou fenked þe fon þat in þei flech dwellen,
 None mihte þe now nye wiþoute. (fol. 211r)
 But þou fihtest wiþ þi fon þat faren þe biside, 341
 And hem þat in þei bodi ben ay berest wiþ þe.
 But if we ony enimis wiþinne us aspie,
 We nolle sclepe in no sclowþe til we hem sclain have;
 þerfor we al ouvrcomen þat arn us wiþinne. 345
 We ne have fere of no fon þat faren wiþoute,
 Ne we agayn hem to go nol no gome procre,
 Ne of no haþel undur hevene any help seche;
 We ne doute none douhtie ne no dede sterne,
 Ne we no wilne no win of watur no of londe. 350
 Wiþ trene bowus we ben on þe body kevered,
 And us findeþ þe frut fode at oure nede.

cedit. Nullus de nobis ad focum sedit pro frigore, nullos dollores aliquando nostra corpora sentiunt et stamus nudo corpore semper contra uentum et desideria corporum non facimus et omnia per patientiam supportamus.

Tu autem, imperator, ista omnia uince et istos inimicos quos intra (*cod. contra*) corpus tuum habes: iam foris (*cod. fortes*) inimicos habere non poteris. Propter hanc causam pugna cum inimicis quos foris habes, ut istos inimicos nutrias quos intus portas. Nos autem Bragmani omnes inimicos quos in corpore nostro <habuimus occisos habemus, et ideo inimicos quos foris> habemus non timemus nec adiutorium contra illos quippiam uolumus neque de mari neque de terra, sed securi semper et sine aliquo timore uiuimus. Corpora nostra co-

338 *MS.* T ouyr comen] *Sk.* To ouyrcomen *MS.* arn 3e wiþinne] *emend.* *Sk.*
 347 *MS.* hem do go] *emend.* *Sk.*; cf. 964

Of mylk have we miche whon amongus our peple,
 þat we no wante no wite of wordliche fode.
 Whan we ludus in þis land liste to drinke, 355
 We turnen tid to flod Thabenus is called.
 þereof we taken a tast what time þat us nedeþ
 And herie þe heie God with herte and with tounge.
 What so we worchen in þis worlde or waken or slepe,
 Or in erpeliche ese eten oþur drinke, 360
 For His sake þat it sente soþli we worchin,
 To sustaine His servantis as Himsilf likus.
 We hopen have þe lif þat come schal heraftur,
 And derely wiþoute deþ dure schal evere.
 Tale tende we non þat turneþ to harme, 365
 But hit be preched for prow and procured to goode.
 We no spende no speche but whan we speke weele;
 We ne sain but soþ and sesen bytime.
 We no recche of no ricchesse no renoun of landus,
 No catelus covaitise comyþ at oure herte; 370
 For þat is soþliche a sinne þat seggus haunteþ,
 And to miche mischef many men bringeth.
 Al we libben in love and loþen envie,
 And hit paieþ our peple in povert to libbe.
 For we hit rekenen for riche and redileche finden 375
 þat hit foleweþ oure folk til þei fare hennus.
 Ay ar we in pes and armus forsaken,

hoperta habemus de frondibus arborum et fructus eorum (*sic*) comedimus, lac
 manducamus, aquam de Tabeno flumine bibimus. Laudes Deo semper canimus
 et desideramus uitam futuri seculi et non desideramus ullam causam audire que
 ad utilitatem non pertinet. Non loquimur multum, sed cum locuti fuerimus, non
 dicimus nisi ueritatem, et statim tacemus. Diuitias non amamus; est insatiabilis
 causa cupiditas que solet ad paupertatem hominem adducere. (*fol. 52v*) Inter
 nos nulla est inuidia, nullus de nobis fortior est altero et paupertatem quam
 habemus per eam sumus diuites, quia omnes illam communiter habemus. Lites
 non facimus, arma non apprehendimus; pacem habemus per consuetudinem, non

And to no wikkede werk woned be we fare.
 þer nis no lawe in oure land ludus to chaste,
 For we no dede no don domus to þolie. 380
 We holden hit a vertu at hom in oure lande
 Among þe men of our march mercy unknowe;
 For we ben meved to no man mercy to grante.
 We ne gilte noht God no no gome here,
 Wherefore we mosten have in minde mercy to crye, 385
 þat God scholde of oure gilt forgiven us þe sinne
 Of ony wikkede werk þat we wroute evyre.
 Ne we for sake of our sinne no sacrifice maken
 To oure galfule God wiþ gold nor wiþ silver,
 As 3e dulfully don to develus of paine, 390
 To make hem glad of 3oure gilt and glose 3ou here.
 Alle leccheries lust us loþeth to founde,
 Or to bringe us in brigge for to breke spouce,
 Or any misdede make wherefore we miht aftur
 Ben ypunched in paine and parte fro blisse. 395
 And þus we gaynsaie 3oure gilt and 3our godus false,
 As 3e wolde fare by 3oure fon þat 3e fals knewe.
 We ben rihtful of red and resoun alowen;
 Forþei ne se we no seg sodainly deie;
 For we ne li3the noht our lif wiþ no luþur dede, 400

per uirtutem. In iudicia non sumus, quia malum non facimus unde ad iudicium
 ire debeamus. Una lex est contraria nature nostre, quia misericordiam nulli
 facimus, eo quod <nec> nos talem causam facimus unde ad misericordiam ire
 debeamus. Culpas alicui non dimittimus, ut per eas Dominus dimittat nobis
 peccata nostra, nec damus diuitias nostras pro peccatis nostris sicut uos facitis.
 Nullum laborem facimus <qui> ad auaritiam pertineat. Membra nostra libi-
 dini non tradimus; adulteria nulla committimus nec aliquod uitium facimus unde
 ad penitentiam ire debeamus sicut uos quia mala facitis unde penitentiam exinde
 agitis. Sic loquimini contra uos ipsos mala que facitis uelud contra inimicos
 solens (*sic*) loqui. De fatiis nichil querimus, quia omnes rectum facimus. Subi-

383 *MS.* grane] *emend.* *Sk.* 389 *MS.* oure galsule god] *emend.* *Sk.*; cf. 129,
 668 395 *MS.* parte blisse 400 *MS.* luþur] *Sk.* luthur

Wherefore we scholde with schame be schorted of daies.

We don deie no cloþ of diverse heuys,

No in no worchipful wede oure wivus atiren,

Wherefore a lud mihte like to loven hem þe bettere

Or þei fairere þan afore to folk miht seme.

405

So to hihten hem her we holden hit sinne,

To maken hem comelokur corn þan hur kynde askyþ.

þefore þei haten to be hiht on hed or on face

Wiþ ony wachinge of watur or ony werk ellus,

Or fonde wiþ fals craft hure face to enoine

410

For to bliken of hur ble þe bliþure of chere,

Or hem schenure to schene þan þei schape were

Of Him þat lente hem hur lif and hure limus made.

For þey þat craven by craft comelokur seme

þan þei ben kindeli coren as Hevene King likus,

415

God scholde þat him schop schine by rihte

For His children hem to chese þat changede His schappus.

For be he burn oþur burde þat hure bodi hihten (fol. 211v)

Oþirwise þan it was in þis word schape,

þey gaynsain hure Saviour þat hem so made

420

And ben aschamed of His schap and schewen hem ellus.

þou douhty doutede king, we don þe to knowe

þat oure bodies ne ben in no baþ wahche:

We han, while we here ben, hete of þe sonne,

And us bydewen a-day þe dewus of hevene.

425

taneam mortem non patimur quia per sordida facta ipsum aerem non corrumpimus. Nullum uestimentum in uariis coloribus tingimus. Femine nostre non ornantur ut placeant, etiam pro ipso ornamento plus nobis (fol. 53r); et nolunt pulcre esse pro ornamentis, sed tantum in ea natura qua prius nate sunt. Num aliquis potest mutare opus nature? Quodsi aliquis illud mutare uoluerit, criminosum est eo quod non est rectum factum seu quod stare non potest. Balneum non facimus neque aquam calefacimus ut corpora nostra lauemus: sol nobis calorem dat et de rore celi infundimur. Nullam cogitationem habemus,

403 *MS.* worchipful] *emend Sk.*; cf. 808
emend. Sk.

405 *MS.* afore tolk miht]

We ben busy of no swink nor no burn maken
 For to wirchen our wil and wordliche serve.
 Us no likeþ of no lud lordschipe have;
 Non is sternere of stat ne stouter þan opir.
 Sin we ben breþeren of brod brouht into þis worde, 430
 Alle corven of a king þat kid is in blisse,
 Whi scholde any schalk þat God schop on erþe
 Have maistrie of men more þan anopir?

We ne han none hous bote holus in þe holou cavus
 Undur hillus ful hie to holden us inne; 435
 þere comeþ no wawe of þe wind no watur of þe rainus.
 Hie holdus to bulde be we not snelle;
 To legge lym oþur ston loþ is us alle;
 Us ne likeþ no lome in oure land use,
 As opir erþliche men owen aboute. 440
 We lin, whan us sclepe list, lowe undur erthe;
 Al wipoute any swink of erthliche werkus
 Swich housinge we han to holde out þe wedures,
 And leden þerinne our lif þe lengþe of our daies.
 Whan God likeþ from lif lede us to blisse, 445
 We liggen down in our den þere we ded worthen.
 þanne is us grayþed no grave, in þe grounde dolven,
 But þere we lin as we laie whan we lif hadde.
 Wip us schineþ every schalk in schippus for to saile,
 For to winne on þe watur wordliche fode. 450

nullum hominem in seruitio nostro habemus; non dominamur super homines qui sunt nostri similes; crudelitas est premere ad seruitium quod nobis ipsa natura que supra est dedit et qui est creatus ab uno patre celesti sicut nos sumus.

Petras non soluimus in calcem, ut faciamus nobis domos ad habitandum neque uascula de terra facimus. In fossis aut in spelluncis montium habitamus ubi nullus <sonitus> uentorum auditur, ubi nullam pluuiam timemus. In terra dormimus absque omni sollicitudine; nos enim tales domos habemus in quibus uiuimus; habitamus ibi et, dum morimur, habemus illas pro sepultura. Nos

442 MS. ertliche] *emend. Sk.* 446 MS. worthen] *Sk.* worþen 447 MS. vs grayþed no] *emend. Sk.; cf. 728, 793.*

For þei þat sailen on þe see, as we soþ knowen,
 In gret peril ben iput and perichen ful ofte.
 We ben lered in oure land lore of no scole,
 Ne to no sience iset ussilve to wisse
 þat mihte us kenne in þis kiþ to carpen as wise; 455
 But þat comeþ us by kinde we konne noht ellus.
 We ne faren to no philozofrus to fonden hure lorus,
 For ay longeþ þat lore to lesinge and jangle.
 Alle oure sawus ben simple — þat we soþ tellen —
 And for to lie is us loþ or luþurly wirche, 460
 But swiche wordus of wise we wilnen to lere
 þere nis no jargoun no jangle ne juggementis falce.
 Us ne schewiþ no schalk schamfule tacchus
 Wherewiþ we mihte misdo or ony man gile.
 We ne loven in our land no laik nor no mirthe; 465
 But whanne we meven our mynde mirþe to here,
 We raiken to oure romauncus and reden þe storijs,
 þat oure eldrene on erþe or þis time wroute.
 And whan we tenden any tale þat turneþ to bourde,
 þat were game for a gome or good of to lauþe, 470
 We sesen of solas and sorwen in herte

autem ad negotiandum per mare non nauigamus ubi pericula sustinent qui illud
 nauigant et multa pericula cognoscunt. Nos artem non (*fol. 53v*) discimus ut
 bene loquamur, sed per naturam loquimur et per simplicitatem dicimus omnia
 et nostra simplicitas nos non permittit mentiri. Scolas phylosophorum non
 fre[n]quentamus in quorum doctrina discordia <est et nihil certum definiens
 atque stabile, sed semper mendacia; sed illas frequentamus in quarum doctrina>
 non est modica et qui demo[n]strant nobis hoc (*cod. hec*) quod <in Scrip-
 turis ostenditur et non docent nos aliquem ledere, sed secundum ueram iustitiam
 iuuare nos docent, et non discimus in eis causam que> nobis aliquam tristitiam
 facia[n]t.

Ludos nullos amamus; si autem uolumus aliqua facere que ad ludum per-
 tineant, legimus facta predecessorum et nostrorum et nostra, et cum debemus
 exinde ridere, nos inde plangimus. Tamen uidemus (*cod. uidimus*) alia in quibus

462 MS. iuggemetis] *emend. Sk.*; cf. 356 467 MS. storiug] *Sk. storrius*; cf.
pp. 13, 14 above.

And maken mourninge of mirthe whan men scholde glade.
 Of oþur wondrus we witen in þis word here
 þat likeþ us to loken on on þe loft heie;
 We sen selkouþe þing, þat is ta sain hevene, 475
 pere as lem is on-loft and lisse to Gode:
 þe sonne set in his cours and þe seve sterres
 And alle þat segges mowe sen siþen on þe skius,
 þat to hure Schappere hem schewen schining rede
 And siþen liht fro þe loft to þe land caste. 480
 þe side se we mow sen set upon erþe,
 þat in kinde colour acordeþ to purple;
 But whan þe watur wiþ þe wind þe wawus up casteþ,
 And þouh hit turne any time to tempest of windus,
 Hit ne awecheþ no wawe nor no watur rereth, 485
 As hit amongus 3ou men is many time founde
 þat stive stormus of þe wind stiren up þe wawus.
 But here, whan þe wind haþ his hugeste blastus,
 þe clere watur he biclipth and closeþ hit inne.
 þerinne sopli we sen selcouþe kindus 490
 Of þe fletinge fihs þat in þe fom lepen.
 pere maken dolfinus dine and diverce fiþches,
 þat þere swimmen ful swiþe and swangen aboute.
 We han mirthe ful miche in medus and feldus,
 pere faire placus and plain han plenté of flourus 495
 þat sote savouron til us, and wiþ þe siht clene
 We ben as fulsom ifounde as þou3 we fed were.

miramur et delectamur, hoc est, uidemus celum optime resplendescere de stellis,
 solem rubicundum in cursu suo et radios suos illuminare totum mundum; uide-
 mus semper mare in colore suo purpureo omne; et quando tempestas illic surre-
 xerit, non dissipat uicinam terram — sed in uestris partibus facit — sed amplec-
 titur ea <m> ut sororem suam. Et ibi uidemus (*cod.* uidimus) cotidie uaria
 genera piscium et saltum dare et ludere et delphynos; necnon et delectamur
 uidere florentes campos de quibus in nostris partibus suauissimus odor ascendit
 unde et oculi nostri uidendo satiantur, corpora nostra <reficiuntur>. Similiter

Us is likful and lef in landus to walke
 þere won walleþ of watur in þe welle-springus.
 Miche wilne we wende in þe wodus þikke, 500
 For to rome undur ris þat rif is of levus,
 þere we mowe graspen on þe grene and gret joie here
 Of brem briddene song þe braunchus alofte.
 þis is oure costom of kinde þat we kyþen alle,
 And deliten in no dede þat doþ men to sinne. 505

Sire Emperour Alixandre, þis arn oure lawes,
 Boþe oure reule and our riht, þat we þe rede holde.
 3if þou our lif wole alowe and oure lawe use,
 Hit schal þe profite, prince, whan þei pres faileþ.
 Hit is noht long on us, lud, þei hit loþ seme, (fol. 212r)
 For y have sent þe my sonde as þou þeiselþ bade. 511

But be þou nouht, bolde king, balful no tened
 þat þou miht trystli trye þe treweste lawe.
 For we schulle minnge þe, man, swiche maner lorus
 þat þou miht lihtliche, lud, þe beste lawe kenne. 515
 Whan þou hit wisliche wost, wilne hit in herte
 And lowe þi lordschipe and þi lif mende.
 Asie and Aufrik and Europ þe grete
 þou hast lowed to þe, lud, in a litil while.
 þe lem of þe sonneliht þou lettest to schine, 520
 So brem bringest þou þi men alle in bryht armus;
 And þe guldene ger þat þi gomus usen
 Wiþ þe blasinge ble blenden þe sonne.

delectamur in optimis locis siluarum (fol. 54r) et fontium ubi audimus cantilenas
 auium. Hanc amirationem semper habemus; in nostra natura hanc consuetu-
 dinem habemus. Imperator, quam si tenere uolueris, credimus tibi durum esse,
 et si nolueris eam tenere, nostra culpa non est, quia omnia unde nos rogando
 mandastis per has litteras, scripta dirigimus.

Sed tamen si placet, dicemus aliquantulum de uestra doctrina propter quod
 (cod. quam) nostra[m] uidetur tibi esse contraria[m]. Vos Asiam, Europam, et

pou hast robbed wiþ þi rout .ij. riche strondus,
 þere þe gravel of þe ground was of gold ore. 525
 þat on was called Ermus and þat oþur large
 þe peple callede Pactolus þat þou pore madest;
 So fale folewen þe folk to fonde þi heste,
 þat with hure drinkinke-drawht whan þei drie þirsten,
 3e maken stinte of his strem a stronde ful huge 530
 þat 'Nilus þe noble flod' namned is wide.
 So miche holdest þou þe, man, of miht and of strenke,
 þat þou miht ovur Oxian wiþ þin ost saile.
 So wis wenst þou þe be, þat þou by wit mihtest
 þorou þi maistrie miche maken to sclepe 535
 Tricerberus þe helle-hound þat holden is kene,
 Boþe wakrong and wikke and wardain of paine.
 3e no fonde no fast but fillen 3oure wombis,
 Eten evere whan 3e list and in ese libben.
 Unkinde kiþe 3e 3ou to kille 3our children 540
 To queme quedfulle godus þat quenchen 3our blisse,
 And to 3oure sovorain of sinne sacrifice maken
 Wiþ þat unblisful blod þat þei bled haven.
 Miche maugré 3e maken among many kingus,
 And gret werre in þis world to waste þe peple. 545
 Many men upon molde ful mek and ful simple
 þorou þe, provede prince, ful proude ben woxe.

Africam in paruo tempore concludere dicitis, uos lumen solis deficere facitis dum
 cursus sui terminos armis exquiritis. Vos Pactoli atque Armi fluuios splendidis-
 simos auro currentes asque colore pauperes reddi<di>stis, <uos Nilum
 fluuium bibendo a cursu suo minuistis>, uos monstratis ut orribilem Oceanum
 nauigaret homo, uos Tartareum custodem, id est canem infernalem Tricerberum,
 soporari (*cod.* soporasti) posse pretio confirmastis. Vos omnia manducantes
 uultum semper ieiunum portatis, uos interficitis in sacrificio filios uestros, uos
 facitis adulterare matres uestras, uos mittitis discordiam inter gentes; et qui
 sunt humiles etiam et per uos superbi facti sunt; uos suadetis homines ut ne-
 quaquam sufficiant spatia terrarum, sed celi querere habitaculum prouocatis;

3e wene winne noht inow on þis worde one,
 But 3if 3e hevene miht have and holden hit also.
 Michel gilte 3e, gome, bi 3our godus falce, 550
 As þei were woned in þis word to wirchen in hure live.
 For ensample, bi my sawe soþ mow 3e fonge
 Of Jubiter þe joilese jugged to paine;
 He was alosed in his lif lechourus of kinde,
 þat in his licamus lust as a lie brente; 555
 He hadde while he here was to hordom i-eged
 Gret won in þis word of wommen alive;
 Forþei 3e holde him a god þat in helle lengus,
 And þat sorwful sinne for his sake usen.
 Y prove hit by Proserpine þat 3e praisen alle 560
 And holden godesse god to gien 3ou here;
 Hure was lecherie luf þe while hue livede also,
 And many lud by hure lay hur lust to fulfille;
 Many men upon molde made hue by slithe
 To haunte hure in hordom hur hole liftime; 565
 Of hure tenful tach 3e taken ensample
 And ay wilnen hire wone in werkus to fonde.
 Alle 3e usen unrith and aftur þat wirchen;
 3e ben luþur of 3our lif and lawus 3e chaunge.
 Of more make 3e avaunt þan 3e mow forþen; 570
 Wis holde 3e no whi but 3if he wel conne
 Faire tempren his tounge his tale to schew.
 Miche matere of wit minegeþ 3our tounge;

uos et per uestros deos multa mala committitis sicut et illi fecerunt. Nam testimonium potest <is> accipere a Ioue deo uestro (*fol. 54v*) et a Proserpina dea uestra quam colitis quia ille multas feminas adulterauit et illa multos uiros secum fecit concu<m>bere. Vos homines non dimittitis in sua libertate uiuere, sed seruos illos habetis; uos iudicia recta non iudicatis, uos iudicibus mutare legem facitis. Vos multa dicitis que debeant fieri et non facitis. Vos alios non tenetis sapientes nisi qui habent facondiam loquendi; tamen multum

564 MS. made hure by] *emend. Sk.*
crossed out

568 MS. and and aftur] *first and*

But beture holde y a burn þat bereþ him al stille.
 3e geduren 3ou gret won of gol and of silver, 575
 And miche likus 3ou lache lordliche holdes,
 And siþen many servantis 3ousilve to abowe,
 To be keture ykid þan any kouþ peple.
 And 3it y live þat 3e live þorou lasse fode
 þan oþur seggus þat semen simple in mirthe. 580
 Of richesse and of renoun romme be 3e kidde,
 And ben baldere ywist þan any burn elles;
 But oure kinde konninge 3ou ovurcomeþ nouþe
 In alle dedus þat 3e don in 3oure daies time.
 We witen, weies, ful wel þat 3e were alle 585
 Bremliche ybrouht forþ and bred of þat modur
 þat is stable to stonde and stonus engendreþ,
 And þe erþe is called þat every man helpeþ. (fol. 212v)
 Whan God demereþ 3ou deie, 3our daies to tine,
 Gravus of gret prys 3e grayþe 3ou tille, 590
 And but hit fair be and fin folie 3e holden
 To legge in 3our licam þat lodilech is founde.
 And so 3our bodies 3e burne þat bettur riht hadde
 In rouh erþe to be reke, to roten hure bonus.
 And by þe dedes that men don to þe dede bodies, 595
 Ludus kenereþ huo hem loven to hure livus ende.

meliores sunt illi qui sciunt bene tacere. Vos aurum et argentum colligitis et desideratis habere maximas domos et multos seruos et non tantum manducatis et bibitis quantum et alter homo manducat et bibit.

Omnia tenetis et dominamini super illas diuitias quas habetis, sed sola sapientia Bragmanorum uincit uos in omnibus, quia, sicut nos consideramus (*cod. desid.*), illa mater uos genuit que [mater nos] <et lapides> genuit. Vos ornatis sepulcra uestra et in uasis gemmarum cineres uestros reponitis. Quid enim peius esse potest quam ossa que terra debet recipere? Vos ea incenditis <et non dimittis> ut in sinu suo recipiat terra que recipere debet quos genita <est>, quando miseris hominibus delectabilem tollitis sepulturam. Dicant homines quale meritum uestris amatoribus post mortem [tollitis] redditis.

We, for love of þe Lord þat we leven inne,
 None bestus iboren balfulli kille,
 Ne no tidi atir in templus araie,
 No figure of fin gold fourme þerinne; 600
 Wherefore þe heie Hevene God heren us scholde,
 Whan any burn to Him bad is bone graunde.
 But 3e, folliche folk, 3our fals godus alle
 Wilfully worschipen wiþ wordliche godus
 For þei scholde hasteli 3ou here and 3ou help kiþe, 605
 Whan 3e greden 3our grace to graunte 3our wille,
 Whan 3e for sake of 3oure sinne sacrifice maken
 And quellen any quik best to queme þe develus.
 3e ne undurstonde nouht þat stounde þe storie of þis wordus,
 þat God hereþ no gome but for his goode dedus, 610
 And for no bestene blod þat any burn quelleþ,
 Noþir of kide, noþur of calf, noþur of kild oxe.
 But he hereþ every hapel þat hertely biddeþ
 And wiþ mekenesse of minde minegeþ his nede.
 Godus worþliche Word, as we wel trowen, 615
 Is Sone sobliche of Man þat in Himsilf dwelleþ,
 By which molde is ymaad and man upon erþe
 And al þat weihs in þis word scholde wiþ fare;
 Al bestus þerby þat lif bere mowe
 Ben sobliche isustained as Himsilf likus; 620

Nos in honore deorum pecudes non occidimus (*fol. 55r*) neque templum facimus ubi statuam auream uel argenteam ponamus de qualicumque deo sicut uos facitis, neque altaria de auro uel gemmis facimus. Vos autem tales habetis deos ut de omnibus bonis uestris honoretis uestros deos ut uos exaudire debeant. Vos non intelligitis quia Deus non pro pretio (*cod. propitio*) neque pro sanguine uituli neque pro sanguine hyrci aut arietis exaudiat aliquem hominem nisi per bona opera <que> Deus diligit et per uerba or<ati>onis exaudiat hominem orantem quia de uerbo tantummodo homo (*cod. hominis*) similis est Deo, quia per Verbum istud mundum creauit et per hoc Verbum uiuunt omnia. Nos autem hoc Verbum colimus, hoc adoramus, hoc amamus; nam et Deus spiritus (*cod.*

þat ilke worþliche Word we worschipe alle,
 And Hit lelliche loven as our lif likus.
 God is spedful in speche and a spryt clene,
 Boþe blessed and blyþe þat blendeþ alle sorwe.
 He clameþ nouht but clenness and clepeþ to is joie 625
 Clene-minded men þat meke ben founde.
 Wherefore we holde 3ou folk folus echone
 þat 3e ne leven in þat Lord þat lengeþ in blisse
 And lede clanly 3our lif and no luþur wirche,
 As 3e haþ of us herd holly þe dedus. 630
 But 3e in lechoures lust al 3our lif spende
 And serve sory idolus þat 3ou in sinne brynge;
 Wiþ oþur folies fale 3e foulen 3our soulen,
 And so 3e duren in 3our dede til 3e ded worpeþ.
 þanne schulle 3e for 3our sinne soffre paine, 635
 For 3e unclene bi cleped and cleven in 3our sinne.
 þere may 3ow borewen of bale no bost nor no pride,
 No no god þat 3e given to 3our godus falce,
 No no sory sacrifice þat 3e so maken
 Wiþ any bestene blod þat evire burn schadde. 640
 3e ne herien nouht herteli þe heie God alone,
 þat hevene holdeþ and haþ to His hole regne,
 But also fale falce godus 3e fonden to queme
 As a burn bereþ now in his body-membrys.
 For 3e liknen a lud to a litil wordle, 645

spirito) et mens est et ideo autem non amat aliud nisi mundam (*cod.* mundo)
 mente <m>. Quapropter nimium (*cod.* nimiam) uos insipientes dicimus pro eo
 quod non tenetis ut natura uestra celestis sit et cum Deo habeat comunitatem,
 sed sorditatis illam de adulterio et fornicatione et de seruitute ydolorum. Vos
 istam causam amatis, istam semper facitis; quam cum facitis, quousque uiuitis,
 mundi non estis et post mortem exinde tormenta sustenetis. Vos itaque speratis
 habere Deum propitium pro sanguine quem ei offertis. Vos non seruitis uni Deo
 qui solus regnat in celo, sed multis diis seruitis. Vos (*fol.* 55^v) tot deos colitis
 quot membra in corpore habetis, nam hominem dicitis esse mundum paruum, et

And this sawe 3e sain sobliche echone:
 þat, also many as a man haþ membrys yschape,
 Him falleþ also fale godus faipfully herie;
 And so 3e sacrifice don to selkouþe fendus.
 For every lime þat a lud longeþ to have, 650
 3e kyþen carefule godus and kallen hem nowþe
 Aftur dedeus þat þei dede diverse names.
 Michel holde 3e of miht Minerva þe falce,
 For he foundede first folies manye;
 And þis is, seggus, 3our sawe, as 3e sain alle: 655
 Hue was engendred wiþ gin of Jubiterus hede;
 Forþei 3e holden hure wis and hollyche segge,
 þat hue þe hilþe of þe heed haþ for to kepe.
 þe jaudewin Jubiter joiful 3e holde;
 For he was wrapful iwrouht and wried in angur, 660
 Gomus holden him god þat gieþ þe herte,
 For þere ariseþ in a rink þe rotus of wrapþe.
 A god mihtful of main Martis 3e holden;
 For he was fihtere fel and foundur of werre,
 He is alosed in lande lord of þe breste, 665
 For þere þe miht of a man most is isene.
 For Mercurie miche spak to mentaine jangle,
 3e holden him galful and god and god of þe tounge.
 For Hercules þe endelese þat evere is in paine,
 Divisede here on his day a dosain of wondrus — 670
 þat 3e avowen verraie and vertuus holden —
 þat a man moste do wiþ mihte of his armus,

sicut hominis corpus multa habet membra, ita dicitis diuersos deos in celo consistere et unicuique per partes corporis uestri diuersas (*cod.* diuersos) et proprias et singulis (*cod.* singuli) uictimas occiditis. Nomina illis exquisita donatis, confirmantes Mineruam pro eo quod fuit inue[n]trix malorum (*cod.* multorum) operum, dicitis eam de capite Iouis natam et tenere sapientiam; proinde dicitis eam tenere summitatem capitis. Iunonem pro eo quod fuit iracund[is], dicitis eam esse deam cordis. Martem pro eo quod fuit prese[n]s bellorum, dicitis illum esse deum pectoris. Mercurium pro eo quod multum loquebatur, dicitis illum esse deum lingue. Herculum uero pro eo quod <duodecim> mirabiles uirtutes

A god holde 3e him helplich of grace,
 þat haþ 3our armus to 3eme and may 3ou 3ive strenke.
 For Bacus þe bollere þat 3e abowen alle 675
 Englaymed was in glotenye and glad to be drounke,
 3e callen him kepere of þe þrote and kinde god holden
 And wis witiere of win þat alle won bryngus. (fol. 213r)
 Cupidus þe corsede þat is in care punched
 3e worchen al worschipe and in þis wise tellen: 680
 þat, for he leccherie lovede in his liftime
 And þat folie fur foundede on erthe,
 A bryht brenninge brond he bereþ on his hondis
 And alle lechurus lust of þe lem tendep.
 And so 3e sain þat he is a soþ god iproved, 685
 þat haþ þe stomak in stat stifly to kepe;
 For þere þe hete that men han is holden wipinne,
 þat enforceþ þe flech folie to wirche.
 Also, seggus, 3e sain þat Ceres þe falce
 Is a goodesse god and gieþ þe wombe; 690
 For hue tilede in hur time on þe touh erþe
 And whete sobliche sew or any seggus ellus.
 Ful verrai of vertue Venus 3e holden;
 And, for hue lady was alosed of leccherouse dedes,
 3e holden hure a goodesse god þat haþ for to kepe 695
 þe prevey membrus of a man þat marke is of kingus.
 Juno þe joilese 3e juggle for noble,

fecit, dicitis illum esse deum brachiorum. Bachum pro eo quod fuit inuentor ebrietatis, dicitis illum esse deum gutturis et sic stare supra guttur hominis quomodo <si> stetisset super cellam de uino plenam. Cupidinem uero pro eo quod fuit fornicator, dicitis eum faculam ardentem in manu tenere cum qua accendat libidinem, proinde eum dicitis esse deum iecoris ubi habitat maxima pars ignis corporis. Cererem pro eo quod fuit inuentrix frumenti, dicitis eam esse deam uentris (*cod.* uentrix). Venerem pro eo quod fuit mater luxurie, dicitis eam esse deam membrorum genitalium. Iouem dicitis tenere spiritum aeris, Appollonem

And weihs sain þat he witeþ in his worde one
 A spild spirit of þe air þat may speke wondrus
 And telle what bitide schal of tene oþur of welþe. 700
 3e leven alle in Appolin and also 3e tellen
 þat, for he medisine made and minstralus craftus,
 3e holde him giour ful good and god of þe handus.
 So þer leveh no lime lasse no more
 þat in 3our power is put, but parted to fendus. 705
 3e ne leven not on a Lord þat lengus in hevene,
 þat al þe membrus of a man made at His wille.
 And þou3 3e falce godus, folk, founden to serve,
 þei ne graunte no grace but greven 3ou ofte
 And taken of 3ou tribit þat traie is to paie 710
 Of 3oure offringus alle ofte in þe 3ere.
 To Martis þe mithtlese men ofren in time
 A gret bor and a bold, as burnus han used.
 To Bacus þe balful men bringen in temple
 A kide, as is costum of comine peple. 715
 A fair pokok of pris men paien to Juno . . .
 And him wirchen þerwiþ worschiþe un erthe.
 þe offrin of Appolin, as 3e alle knowe,
 Ys a swan swiþe whit swich as 3e bryngen.
 3e schullen bi ordre of use offren to Venus 720
 A ful derworþe douve on his den take.

pro eo quod inuenit ipse prius medicinam et musicam, dicitis illum esse deum
 (fol. 56r) manuum. Totum enim corpus hominis dicitis inter deos esse; nullam
 partem corporis uestre potestati relinquitis et non tenetis quia corpora uestra
 unus Deus qui in celo est creauit. Tamen exinde nec gratiam uobis reddunt ipsi
 dii uestri sicut ad liberos homines, sed ut colonis subiectis imponunt uobis tributa
 atque [ab aliis] tributa a uobis auferunt. Marti offertis aprum, Bacho offertis
 hyrcum, Iunoni offertis pauonem, Ioui mactatis taurum, Appolloni occiditis
 agnum, Veneri immolatis columbam, Minerue noctuam occiditis, Cereri farra
 sacrificatis, Mercurio mella soluitis (cod. alas alitis), altaria Herculis coronatis ex

703 MS. holde hm (or hin? so Sk.) 720 MS. of on vs offren to vectus]
 emend. Sk.; on by ditlography from 721; for Venus see 693

Minerva men worschipen in oþur maner also
 And bringen hure a niht-brid, a bakke or an oule.
 To Ceres þe sorwful 3e sacrifice maken
 And carien bi costum corn to hure temple. 725
 3e mensken alle Mercurie wiþ mirth and wiþ joie
 And him a chalis ful chois wiþ good chere bringen.
 þe hauter of Hercules alle 3e hihten
 And hit spreden wiþ spraius of springinge braunchus.
 Cupies þe corsed wiþ comeliche flourus 730
 3e herien ful hertely and hihten is temple.
 þus manye mihteles godus, and mo þan y telle,
 For þe hope of hur help 3e herien on erþe.
 And 3it may þer no man in any maner wise
 Wiþ solempne sacrifice serve hem at onus, 735
 But everi wile of a weyh his owene wone have,
 Be it bole oþur bor, betur oþur werse.
 Of swiche bestus þat ben of burnus y-ofreëd,
 þei han miht upon molde and of no mo þingus.
 Whi favure 3e þanne falce godus and folliche seggen 740
 þat þei han power of peple þat pacen on molde,
 Whan þei ne han miht of no mor nor no maistrie on erþe
 But of hur owne offringe and onliche of bestes?
 For 3our errours on erthe, sire Emperour riche,
 And for þe dedus undingne þat 3e don alle, 745
 As 3e ben worþei of wo whan þe word failus,

frondibus, templum Cupidinis ornatis rosis. Et si necessitas uobis euenerit, non uult sacrificium commune nec commune templum, et unusquisque deus proprium sibi premium datumque assumit. Unusquisque autem deus de his quos colitis siue auem siue frumenta siue quadrupedem siue aliam qualemcumque causam <con>secretam habet: in illis est illorum potestas, non in corpore uestro. Et uos dicitis illos habere potestatem in uestro corpore, qui non habent potestatem <nisi> in animalibus que illis offertis. Certe digna uota et digna

726 MS. alle mereurie] *emend. Sk.*; cf. 667 and 201 728 MS. of hecules]
emend. Sk.; cf. 447 735 MS. solepne] *emend. Sk. in note ad loc.*; cf. 356 736
 MS. weyh 738 MS. y of reed] *interpreted by Sk. in add. and corrig.*

3e schulle be punched and put in paine for evere.
 3our godus ful of gile ben þat 3e so good holden;
 On hem is help of non harm no hap of no grace,
 But bochours ben þei echon 3our body to disembre, 750
 And everich pinchen his part þere paine is unended.
 As many mihteles godus as 3e on molde serven,
 As fale painus in fir 3ou fallus to drie; (fol. 213v)
 For 3our ydil idolus don 3ou ille wirche:
 Summe to lechorus lust 3our likinge turneþ, 755
 Summe 3ou strenkþen to strive and straiten 3our minde,
 And somme eggen in ese to eten and to drinke.
 þei bysette 3ou so in sinne and in gile
 þat 3e wirchen hur wil and worchipen alle;
 And, seggus, for 3e so don 3e semen unwise 760
 Hem to serven in sinne þat mowe no seg helpe.
 þei beþ unmihtful ymad men for to wisse
 And kun not save hemself fro sorwful painus.
 Whan 3e hem greden of griþ to graunte 3our bone,
 Wheþur þey hit heren or nouht, to harme hit 3ou turnus.
 Whan 3e hem praiere profre, 3if þey prest heren, 766
 þei casten in 3oure consience corsede þouhtous.
 And, ludus, 3if hem loþ be to listne 3oure bonus,
 Hit 3ou norcheþ any for þei 3ou nouht heren.

tormenta post mortem sustinetis propter uestros errores. Re enim uera non
 rogatis deos adiutores, sed carnifices qui membra uestra per diuersa tormenta
 <diuidunt. Necesse est enim tanta tormenta> sustinere corpora uestra quantos
 deos dicitis habere potestatem in uestris corporibus. Unus enim deus fecit (fol.
 56v) uos fornicari, alter manducare, alter bibere, alter li <ti> gare, omnes uobis
 imperant et uos omnibus seruitis, omnes colitis et miserum corpus uestrum debet
 deficere propter tanta mala que facitis; quia non uultis cessare a malis, ideo
 seruitis talibus diis; sine causa enim seruitis talibus diis qui uobis imperant omnia
 mala facere. Si enim exaudierint uos ipsi dii uestri, quanta eos rogatis, dampna
 faciunt in conscientia uestra; si autem uos non exaudierint, etiam <erunt>
 contrarii desideriis uestris, qui <a> uos de alia causa non illos rogatis nisi de
 malis: ergo si <ue> uos exaudierint siue non exaudierint, semper uobis nocent.

So wheþur þei graunte hit or gruche, þei greven 3ou ofte, 770
For everi time hit 3ou turneþ to tene and to harme.

þo ben 3oure gostliche godos þat gon to do wreche
Aftur ludene lif for hure luþur werkus.

For þei schulle in þis word wirche for sinne.

Whan þat burnus ar bured þat balfully wrouthe 775

Tokne of þat turment tolde 3oure eldren,

How wreche scholde ben wrouht for wrongful dedes

And dul aftur þe deþ; 3our doctourus saide

þat seggus scholde for sinne suffre in þis worde, 780

And 3e ben sopli þe same of wham þei so tolde,

þat scholde lenge aftur lif in lastinge paine.

For 3if 3e, seggus, 3our lif sopli biþenke,

Wers wirchen no folk þan 3e weiþes alle.

For sake of 3oure Savyour 3e ne soffre no paine

But liven in 3oure likinge and luþurli wirchen. 785

3e waken for wikkednesse and wirchen but ille;

3e speden for to spille men and spouce-breche fonden;

3ou is lechurie luf and liben wiþ stalþe;

To robbe men of hure riht ful redy ben alle.

3e ben glotounius gle glad for to haunte 790

And han no mesure on molde of mete ne of drynke.

3e ben to þe hellehond holliche ilike,

Tricerberus þe tenful of wham I tolde have:

He sunt dee uestre ille que dicuntur Furie (*cod.* Hec sunt uestra illa dicta furta), que et peccata hominum per furorem post mortem uindicant; hec sunt illa tormenta que uobis doctores uestri dixerunt que uos uelud mortuos iam in illo seculo cruciant[ur]. Etenim si bene uolueritis considerare, non peiorem causam potest aliquis sustinere quam modo sustinetis; et quanta simulacra dicunt doctores uestri esse apud inferos, uos estis (*cod.* esse). Pene sunt in inferno et uos modo penas patimini, quando uigilatis propter committenda adulteria et fornicationes et furta.

Dicunt enim <Tantalum> esse in inferno qui semper sitiuit et numquam sacia[n]tur, et uos tamquam (*fol. 57r*) cupidinem habetis acquirere diuitias ut nullo tempore satiemini. Dicunt enim in inferno Tricerberum esse, qui habet

Thre hedus ben on him þat haþ but on wombe.
 And so it fareþ by 3ou folk þat fillen 3ousilven; 795
 For alle þe godus þat 3e geten of gomus upon erþe
 Serven for to sustaine 3our unsely wombe.
 Also 3oure docturus sain in sawus ful olde
 þat an addre is in helle þat Ydra is called,
 To cache is covaitous corsede soulus, 800
 And fonde he fewe oþur fale ful is he nevere.
 þanne mow 3e, ludus, of lif be likned him tille;
 For 3e ben covaitouse kid and kunne nouht bliune,
 But evere wenden to winne wordliche godus,
 And al is, burnus, aboute 3our body for to fede. 805
 Alle þe folius, folk, þat 3e fain wirchen
 Ben purchas of penance whan 3e parte hennus.
 To bale were 3e þanne bore for bannede werkus,
 þat schullen schamly be schent and schapen to paine.
 þus Dindimus þe dere king enditeþ his sonde 810
 And God bysecheþ to save þe souveraine prinse.'

100. Whan emperour Alixandre wiþ erene hit hirde
 And tendede þe tiþinge þat y told have,
 He was wroþ; for þe writ of wrong gan alose
 His godus þat he held to gyen þe peple. 815
 But nouþeles anon-riht anied in his herte,

tria (*cod. iij*) capita; et uenter uester sic est, si conspiciere uultis quomodo Tricerberus propter multum manducare et bibere. Similiter dicunt ut sit (*cod. sic*) in inferno serpens qui uocatur Ydra, et uos, propter multas diuitias quas per saturitatem uentris (*cod. uentrix*) habetis, Ydra dici (*cod. dicere*) potestis. Et omnia alia que doctores uestri dicunt esse in inferno, si considerare uultis, propter uestra mala ipsa uos estis (*cod. sunt*). Hen uos miseri qui talem fidem habetis [nulli tenet] ut post mortem tormenta sustinere debeatis.

100. Recepta itaque Alexander hac epistola iratus est ualde propter iniu-

794 MS. Foure hedus] *emend. Sk. in note ad loc.* 799 MS. yydra. 806 MS. þat 3e sain] *emend. Sk.; cf. 925* 808 MS. 3e panne bore] *emend. Sk.; cf. 403* 812 MS. wiþ crene hit] *Sk. erene; cf. 201*

Sone sente he again his sel and his lettrus.
 Wiþoute tarynge tid þis tiþingus come
 To Dindimus þe dere king þat þe dite radde.
 Now liþus, 3e þat listene wele, þe lettrus to þe ende, 820
 For þus redely þe rink aradde þe sonde.
 'þe aþel King Alixandre of armus alosed,
 þat noble is and namekouþ and nevere man dradde,
 þat grete god Amon in graciouse timus
 Bygat on Olimpias þe onorable quene, 825
 Ful derely to Dindimus enditeþ his sonde
 And his sawe to the seg saiþ in þis wise:
 3if alle þe lorus þat þou, lud, in lettrus me sentest
 Ben trewe to be trowen on and trysty to leve,
 þanne be ye sykur to be saf for sake of 3oure werkus. 830
 For 3e ben burnus of lif best upon erþe,
 3if 3e nouht wirche but wel in þis word here; (fol. 214r)
 Hit comeþ 3ou bi custum so clanly to libbe.
 Whi deme þanne þat we don no dede upon erþe
 But sinne þat is sorwful oure soule to spille? 835
 Whi seye 3e, seggus, also þat sinne 3e holden
 Any werkus to wirche of wordliche craftus?
 Whi be 3e, ludus, so lef to lakke þe werkus
 þat mankinde haþ ymad on molde to be used?
 3if hit be soþ þat 3e sain, hit semeþ by 3oure dedes 840
 þat 3e no 3emen of no gome no none godus trowe,

riam deorum suorum, sed tamen scripsit ei epistolam continentem sic.

Epistola Alexandri ad Dindimum. 'Rex regum Alexander filius dei regis <Amonis> et regine Olimpiadis, Dindimo dicendo mandamus: Si ita sunt ut dicitis omnia, ergo salui facti estis in hoc mundo beati homines, qui nulla mala faciunt aut dicunt, qui non habetis in consuetudine facere ea que humana natura facere solet, qui dicitis peccatum esse omnia que nos facimus, qui diuersas artes que apud nos sunt peccata esse denuntiatis, qui uultis destruere (fol. 57v) omnes

830 *MS. sylur] emend. Sk.; cf. 474* 834 *MS. don ne dede] emend. Sk. in addend.* 841 *MS. no giuen of*

Or 3e envye to hem han and hatien hur sondus,
 For to libbe in 3our land as ludus aboute.
 Many wondurful wonus wisli we knowen
 þat 3e amongus 3ou, men, in 3our march usen: 845
 3e telle us þat 3e tende nauht to tulye þe erþe,
 Ne place erie wiþ plow no plaunte winus,
 Ne bulde boldus an hih for burnus to wonye,
 Ne non erthely note nedfully wirchen.
 In þat þou leredest me, lud, þat 3e no land erien, 850
 3e ben exkused echon for iren 3ou wantus
 Wherewiþ mihte 3e, men, maken any boldus
 Or tren plaunten in place or any plow dryve.
 Whan 3e mow take no tol to tilien on erþe,
 No swiche werkus to swinke as oþur swainus usen, 855
 Forþi bihovus 3ou, haþel, harde to libbe
 And wo drie in þis word for wante and for nede.
 So mowe 3e, ludus, 3our lif leden as bestus
 In gret mischef of mete as 3e mote nede.
 3e witen wel, whan a wolf wanteþ is fode, 860
 þat he ne fundeþ no flech to feden him uppe,
 Of þe erþe he et for ellus he scholde
 Be wiþ hungur yholde and happily sterve.
 þanne mow 3e weies to þe wolf ful wel ben ylikned,
 þat, for 3e finde no fode as oþur folk usen, 865

consuetudines quas humana natura hactenus habuit. Vos autem secundum
 nostram (*cod. naturam*) considerationem aut deos uos esse dicitis aut inuidiam
 contra deos habetis; proinde (*cod. quod inde*) dicitis ista. Tamen non preter-
 mitto uobis scribere singula de ordine uestre uite quantum exinde intelligere
 possumus. Dicitis enim ut non habeatis consuetudinem terram arare, seminare,
 nec uites ac ponere arbores aut edificia pulcra facere. In hoc manifesta ratio[ne]
 <est> quia non ferrum habetis cum quo laborare possitis ista que diximus.
 Aliunde nauigationem nauigii habere non potestis; ideo necesse est ut pascatis
 herbas sicut pecora et duram uitam ducatis. Numquid et lupi hoc faciunt? Cum
 enim non poterint predari carnem quam manducent, saturentur de terra <pro
 penuria famis. Quodsi liceret uos in nostras uenire terras, non requireremus

Swich hungur as 3e han byhovus 3ou þolie
 And, be 3ou lef oþur loþ, libben in wante.
 þefore no like no lud of his luþur fare,
 No hope for his harde lif to have no mede!
 For almus-dede do 3e non, as 3e demen alle, 870
 But skarseté and skaþe unskilfully fonden.
 3if we lengede in 3oure land — ful loþ were oure bestus
 To ben so simple as ussilf and suffre þat tene —
 We scholde folewe oþur folk and fonden echone
 To acorde of oure costom wiþ comine peple; 875
 But 3e han dainté in dul 3oure daies to spene
 And ben ysustained so wiþ sorwe in þis worde.
 But 3e ben litil to alowe of 3oure luþur fare,
 For nouht but niseté nedful 3ou makus.
 3oure owne folie, folk, doþ 3ou ful ofte 880
 In hungur and in hard lif to holde 3oure peple.
 Also 3e sain in 3our sonde þat soþly 3oure wivus
 Ne gon in no gay tyr as gise is of oþure,
 And þat ludus in 3oure land no lechurie haunten
 But sparen alle spouse-breche þe space of hure livus; 885
 And þou 3e wonde swich werk me wondrus ful lite.
 How miht 3e lechurie love or likinge have,
 Whan luþur fare haþ alaid 3our lustus echone,
 þat 3e megre ben maad wiþ mischef and hungur?

sapientiam uestram > de penuria quam laudatis, sed in suis finibus remanserat ipsa penuria. Aut si nos in uestris finibus habitassemus, pauperes fueramus similes uobis. Non enim est laudandum uiuere hominem in angustia et paupertate, sed si uixerit ut uitia temperentur. Sed tamen si laudandum fuisset, ergo cecitas et paupertas <ipse sole haberent gloriam: cecitas quia non uidet quod desiderat, paupertas>, quia non habet unde aliquid faciat.

Dicitis enim quia femine uestre non ornantur, etiam et pro pondere habent ipsum ornamentum. Similiter dicitis ut aput uos fornicationes et adulteria (*fol. 58r*) non fiant; miranda causa fuisset, si hec fecissetis uoluntarie, sed ideo hoc facitis propter ieiunia quam habetis. Et femine uestre ideo pro pondere habent

For 3e so simple ben seie and semen so pore, 890
 3ou wantus wordliche won 3our wivus to hihte;
 pefore as bestus 3e ben and of body chaste,
 Unmihty, for mischef, to medle wiþ burdus.
 þat nis no chariteus chois so schast for to libbe
 Sin 3e maugray 3our miht mote hit wiþdrawe. 895

Also 3e sente us to saie in þe same time
 Of oþur manerus mo miche for to lakke:
 þat 3e no stidie in no stounde ne no stat wilne
 Of clergie þat clene is to claimen in scole;
 And þat 3e mercy on molde in no maner wilne, 900
 No mercy don to no man amongus 3ou founde.
 þanne hit semeþ by 3oure sawe, 3if 3e soþ tellen,
 þat kindely 3oure consience acordeþ to bestus;
 For as bestes 3e ben by no skile reuled, —
 Ne hem of kinde no comeþ no konninge of witte, — 905
 So be 3e, ludus, bylad and laweles alse
 þat han no reward to riht but redlese wirchen.
 But we faipful folk, þat faren as wise,
 Ben ydemed to do dedus of rihte.
 Forþy us kenneþ our kinde to acorde in trowþe, 910
 In swiche lawus to live þat longen to Gode,
 For to sowe and to sette in þe sad erthe
 And oþur wordliche werk wisly to founde.

ipsum ornamentum et non ornantur propter ieiunia inde et uos et ille in castitate permanetis.

Dicitis uero quia studium discendi non habetis et misericordiam (*cod.?*) non queratis neque aliis faciatis: omnia hec communia habetis cum bestiis, quia sicut non habent naturaliter ut aliquid bonum sentiant, ita nec in aliquo bono delectantur. Nobis autem rationalibus hominibus qui liberum habemus arbitrium, ad bene uiuendum dedit ipsa natura multas blanditias. Impossibile est enim ut tanta mundi magnitudo non haberet (*cod. habent*) temperatum modum rationis, ut post tristitiam non haberet letitiam. Si quidem uoluntas humana uaria est que celi mutatione mutatur, similiter et mens illius hominis diuersa est, <et quando sincerus dies est>, et uoluntas et mens in gaudio est; et quando tenebrosus dies fuerit, tristis erit. Similiter et sensus hominis per diuersas etates immutatur: hinc est quod infantia gaudet in simplicitate, <et iuuenis in pre-

Sin mankinde is ymaad so michel and so rive,
 Among so perles a peple impossible hit were — 915
 But somme were reuled by ryht as resoun hit axeþ —
 Hemself to sostaine wiþ selkowþe þingus,
 For to live by þe land, as ludus ben schape,
 To have welþe aftur wo, as þe word farus.
 For tene sumtime tid and sumtime mirthe, 920
 And aftur swaginge of swinc swiþe comeþ joie.
 But so, weihs, as 3e witen þat weduringe chaungeþ,
 Now broun and now briht and now breme stormys,
 So is þe wit and þe wil of wordliche peple (fol. 214v)
 In selkouþe sesounus sain for to chaunge. 925
 Whan wedur waxeþ al bryht þat wel is to like,
 Mirie ben men of mod in minde and in herte;
 But whan þe daies dimme ben, hit doþ hem to mourne
 For siht of þe sesoun þat semus unbliþe.
 3it chaungeþ wit of a weih in oþur wise also 930
 þorou þe grete degré þat groweþ in age.
 For whan he is innocent þat ille can lite,
 þanne haþ he solas of himsilf simple to worþe;
 For betur likede him a bal þan a borou riche
 And he is hardy to non harm but hauntus his gamus. 935
 Whan he is eldure of age þat auht is his strenke,
 þanne wol he proven him proud and prys of him holde
 And wexe wilde of his wil and wikke to staunche,
 Whan he is fare so forþ fer in his age,
 þat stoute is he, stedefast, and stille of his herte. 940
 Huo wole a cherched child chese for hardy,

sumptione, et> senectus tardatur in stabilitate. <Quis enim querit in puero
 astutiam aut in iuvene constantiam aut in sene mutabilitatem?> Multa enim
 <sunt> delectabilia que ad usum nostrum occurrunt, alia uisui nostro, alia

920 MS. For tenē] *emend. Sk. in addend. and in note ad loc.* 921 MS. swa-
 ginge of swine] *emend. Sk.; cf. 726, 201* 925 MS. fain for to] *cf. 806* 932
 MS. whan] *Sk. when*

Or a 3oung man meek þat mirþe covaiteþ?
 Huo wolde wene þat a weih woxen on elde
 Were wist for unstedefast of word or of dede?
 Manie mirþus on molde þat oþur men usen 945
 3e leven þorou 3our luþur wit þat longen to peple:
 Summe in siht þat we sen and savur of mouþe,
 Summe in handlinge of hond and heringe of ere,
 Summe þat longen to a lud of likinge smellus
 And queminge of quaintise þat quencheþ our tene, 950
 And in menskinge of mouþ mirþe we haven,
 In tendere touchinge of þing and tastinge of swete.
 And sin we frekus ben so fre þat frut we haven,
 And al þat growus in þe ground of graciouce þingus;
 We finde fihch in þe se þat us fedeþ alle; 955
 We lachen likinge ynow of þe loft-briddus;
 And 3if 3e wonde of þat won to winne 3our fode,
 3e schulle be demed þat 3e don dispit to þo kindus.
 þanne schewe 3e to hur Schappere schame for His sondus,
 þat so schinden His schap þat He 3ou scheweþ here. 960
 Or 3e han hertely hate to oure hole peple,
 For we ben beture of our lif and swich bote finden,
 Sin swiche godus as we sen ben sent to us alle,
 And nouht so to 3ou now, nedful burnus.
 Alle þe dedus þat 3e don, y deme þat it turnus 965
 More to folie þan to faiþ of any ful witte.'

auditui, alia odori uel tactui uel saporis, et modo saltationibus delectamur, modo cantilenis, aliquotiens suauitate odoris aut (*fol. 58v*) in gustu[m] dulcedinis aut in tactu mollitie delectamur. Sic tamen omnes bonos fructus habemus de terra; habundantiam piscium habemus de mari; et delicias auium habemus de aere. Si uolueris te ab omnibus abstinere, aut superbus iudicaberis, eo quod talia despicias, aut inuidiosus (*cod. inuidiose*) pro eo quod, <quia> nos sumus meliores quam uos, donata nobis esse uidentur. Hanc causam secundum meum iudicium iudico de uita et moribus uestris quia plus pertinet ad stultitiam quam ad sapientiam.'

953 *MS.* þat we frut hauen 956 *MS.* lof briddus 963 *MS.* ben sen to
emend. Sk. 964 *MS.* so do 3ou] *emend Sk.; cf. 347*

101. þis sonde þat y said have, sire Alixandre riche
 Let bringe wiþ his brode sel to Bragmanus prince.
 And raþe whan hit rad was ful redy wiþ oþur
 To þis adoutede duk Dindimus sente. 970
 Whan hit was sent to þe seg, he dide hit sone red.
 Now how hit goodly bygan, men, givus tente.
 ‘Dindimus þe dere king, the docktour of wise,
 þat lord of Bragmanus land and ledere is holde,
 To Emperour Alixandre, egest of princes, 975
 þat is grymmest ygrowe and grettest of kingus,
 Joie graiþus wiþ grace and gretinge of mouþe,
 As to þe kiddeste ycore þat corone weldus.
 We do þe, namkouþe king, to kenne and to here
 þat in þis wastinge word we ne wone nouht evere; 980
 For erþe is nouht our eritage þat evere schal laste,
 Ne we ne ben nouht ibor to abide þerinne.
 But we ben pore pilegrimus put in þis worde,
 For we by destené of dome schulle deþ þolie;
 þanne schulle we hie to þe hous þat hie is in blysse 985
 And kaire to oure kinus nie to kenne of oure fare.
 We ben ofset wiþ no sinne for unsely godus
 Ne we sitte in no sete þere sinne is yhanted,
 But for oure kinde consience þat kenneþ us to goode
 We wonde wikkede werk and wende fro skaþe. 990
 We ne sain noukt, king, be þou sur, for sake of our pride
 þat we bolde godus ben burnus to gie,

101. Recepta uero Dindimus hac epistola legit ipsam et statim scripsit Alexandro aliam epistolam continentem sic: Epistola Dimdimi ad Alexandrum.

‘Dindimus Bragmanorum didasculus Alexandro regi gaudium. Non sumus nos habitatores istius mundi, quasi semper hic esse debeamus, sed sumus peregrini in isto mundo quia morimur et pergitur ad domum patrum nostrorum. Non grauant nos peccata nostra nec manemus in tabernaculis peccatorum. Nullum furtum facimus et pro nostra bona conscientia quam habemus in publi-

976 MS. & gretest of] *emend. Sk.* 986 MS. & karre to 988 MS. is yhanteþ;
cf. 236

Ne envye to hem han ne hate in þis worde;
 For we ne give us to no gilt þat scholde God wraþe,
 Ne nouht nien Him her by niht no by day. 995
 God, þat alle gomus schop and alle gode þingus,
 Made here upon molde many manere choisus;
 For maad mihte hit nouht be þere men scholde dwelle
 Wipoute diverce dedus of many done þingus.
 But al þat badde is for a burn here aboven erþe, 1000
 Huo so haþ chaunce to echue and chese þe betture —
 As men han wit for to wite þe wikke and þe gode — (*fol. 215r*)
 He may nouht claime to be cleped clene god of mihte,
 But Godus frend may þe freke frely be called.
 For we leden wel our lif and loven to be simple, 1005
 In þoure sonde, sire king, 3e saide þis wordus:
 þat we alle godus arn, as 3e deme nouþe,
 Or evere elles til hem envye we have.
 But þe same þat 3e so by ussilt trowe
 Longeþ, ludus, to 3ou þat liven so in ese; 1010
 For 3e leden þoure lif in lordschipe and in myrthe,
 Of noble kinde for 3e come and kid ben of grete.
 In clene cloþus 3e gon and claimen to be riche;
 Al þoure minde is on mirþe and most upon goodus.
 Þoure fingrus of fin gold 3e fullen wiþ ryngus 1015
 As is wommenus wone for wordliche glose.

cum eximus. Non enim dicimus ut dii simus aut inuidia<m> contra Deum habemus, <sed non facimus ea que contra Deum sunt>. Deus autem qui omnia creavit in mundo, uarias operatus est causas quia non poterat <stare mundus sine uarietate multarum rerum et dedit arbitrium> homini ad discernendum de omnibus que in mundo sunt. Quicumque ergo dimiserit peiora et secutus fuerit meliora, hic non est Deus, sed amicus Dei (*fol. 59r*). Nos enim qui sane uiuimus et continenter; propter quod diceretis quia aut dii essemus aut inuidiam contra deos haberemus. Ista[m] enim suspicio[nem] quam de nobis habetis ad uos pertinet. Nam cum tantum inflati sitis de nimia prosperitate quam habetis, quia <obliti estis> ex quo nati estis, ponitis super uos gloriosum ornamentum, mittitis aurum in digitis uestris sicut femine faciunt. Unde sciatis quia de hac

But, burnus, be 3e ful sur, þo bostful dedes, —
 Wherefore 3e holde 3ou her hiest on erþe, —
 Schal 3ou procre to pryde and to no profit ellus,
 But skaþe for 3oure unskile whan 3e skapen hennus. 1020

Gold fedep̃ no gome ne no good soule,
 But we þat selkouþus sen and soþus mow knowe
 And kenne þe kinde of þe gold þat corsed is founde,
 We faren alle to þe flod þere we finde mowe
 Gret plenté of gold on þe ground ligge. 1025

þanne we wollen of þe watur wilfully drinke
 And defoule wiþ our fet þe fine gold schene;
 For gold, þouh it gay be, hit gaynus ful lite
 Of hard hongur and þirst to helpe any peple.
 Have a man nevere so miche mischef of hounsur, 1030
 He may hit staunche wiþ mete and menden his paine;
 þouh þirst dreche him wiþ drouhþe drink may him helpe,
 A litil wetinge of watur his wo wol amende.

3if gold were to a gome so good of his kinde,
 Whan men hit helde in here hand or hadde in here warde,
 So scholde hit be to a burn bote of his nede, 1036
 His corsede covaytise cofly to sese.

But now, þe more þat a man may þerof winne,
 þe more 3ernus he 3it to 3eme at his wille;
 And he is mensked þe mor amongus 3ou alle, 1040

causa unde speratis uos esse maiores, ad ueram humilitatem nihil uobis prodest.

De auro enim non fiunt beate anime neque corpora humana exinde satiantur. Nos autem ueram ueritatem cognoscimus <et ipsam naturam auri>, et cum imus ad fluuium ut bibamus aquam, ipsum aurum cum pedibus nostris calcamus. Aurum non tollit famem neque sitim, non uenit aliqua egritudo ad hominem propter aurum, quia, si sitierit homo et biberit aquam, tollitur sitis eius; similiter si esurierit et comederit, cessatur fames eius. Si igitur de eadem natura <aurum> esset, cum acceperit illud homo, cessaret cupiditas illius; <sed ideo malum est aurum, quia, cum incipit illud habere homo, plus augetur cupiditas eius.> Quicumque est malus homo, colitur et honoratur a uobis, quia omnis homo cum tali homine habet delectationem qualis et ipse est. Vos enim

1032 *MS.* hem helpe

1039 *MS.* 3ernus be 3it] *emend. Sk.*

For wel lovus every lud þat liche is him tille.
 We sain þat 3our sory godes, of wham 3e so 3elpe,
 Mow no manyr ded þing þorou hure miht hele.
 3e tenden michil in 3our time templus to bulde
 And riche auterus rive rere þereinne. 1045
 þanne founde 3e 3our falce godus with sorw for to here
 And quellen, for to quemen hem, of 3our quike bestus,
 And in þat same sacrifice 3e seggen þe name
 Of what burn þat hit be þat wolde bone have.
 þin aldurfadur, Alixandre, al þis haþ used, 1050
 And alle kydde of 3our kin kenden þis dedus.
 þis is amongus 3ou men in þis manere knowe,
 For þus 3e erren echon in erþliche werkus.
 Wherefore, seggus, we sain, for sake of 3our dedus,
 How lufurly 3e liven her, litil 3e knowen. 1055
 þow 3e wiþ sinne be ofset, suffre 3e nolle
 þat we bywepe in þis word 3our wikkede dedus.
 And miche, þinkeþ us, a man menskeþ anofur
 þat a gome for his gilt goodly bywepeþ.
 For ho so woneþ in þis word and wol nouht yknowe 1060
 þat him is demed to deie and doom schal abide,
 Hit is riht þat þe rink be reufully ended
 And smite to þe smeþe ground wiþ a smart foudur;
 As on sinful was seie þat Salonienus hiȝte . . .
 And evyl endid on erþe and wrout ful foule; 1065

dicitis quod non curat Deus mortalia. Edificatis uobis templa, statuitis altaria et delectamini quando ceduntur ibi peccora <et> nomen uestrum nominant. (*fol. 59v*) Hoc factum est patri tuo, hoc auuo tuo cunctisque parentibus, hoc etiam et <tibi pro>mittitur. Pro qua causa ueraciter dico quia quod agitis ignoratis et nobis qui recta uidemus uultis adducere tenebras cecitatis uestre et non nos dimittitis ut plangamus de miseriis uestris; nam tantum beneficium prestat homo homini perduto quantum si plangit eum. Quicumque se non agnouerit esse mortalem, de tali honore remunerabitur quali honore remuneratus est Salomon (*sic*)

1042 MS. 3e so helpe] *emend. Sk. in addend. and in note ad loc.* 1056 MS.
 suffre ne nolle] *emend. Sk.* 1060 MS. nouh yknowe] *emend. Sk.* 1063
 MS. smart poudur

For þe lud on his lif alosed him so noble
 þat he hevene hadde miht with handus to reche.
 Forþei boþe for hur bost ben ybrend nouþe,
 Wiþ fir in þe fir-hil to fendus bytauhte.
 þus mowe 3e finden in fablus of philozofrus olde, 1070
 þat spoken how þo spild men spenden hur time.'

102. þus was þe lettere of þe lud þat he last sente,
 And Mascedonius mihty king menskliche hit radde.
 Whan he þe sonde hadde seye he sente forþ newe,
 þat was to Bragmanye brouht and prest for to rede. 1075
 þanne radde cofly þe king þis karded sonde,
 þat þus tiþinge tolde and tauhte þis wordus:
 'þe Emperour Alixandre of armus alosed,
 þat noble is and namekouþ and nevere man dradde,
 By godus chaunce þat (*fol. 215v*) ys chose chef ovur kingus
 And of burnus ybore baldest of mihte, 1081
 þat Amon þe grete god in graciose timus
 Bygat on Olimpias þe onurable quene,
 Bykenneþ King Dindimus in kiþ þere he dwellus
 His aselede sonde and saiþ in þis wise: 1085
 3e sain, burnus, þat 3e ben best echone,
 þat in 3oure lþliche land libben by kynde.
 For so, seggus, 3e ben byset in an yle,

qui iuste occisus est a fulmine propter uim fulminis celi quod imitatus est, uel Enceladiis (*sic*) qui per uim ausus est celum manibus tangere. Propter <hoc> sepultura[m] eius <igneo monte> (*cod. ingnea morte*) retinetur sicut dicunt fabule phylosophorum uestrorum.'

102. Relecta ab Alexandro hac epistola continuo scripsit ei epistolam continentem sic:

'Rex regum Alexander, filius dei Amonis et regine Olimpiadis, Dimdimio dicendo mandamus. Proinde dicitis uos esse beatos quod in ea parte mundi naturaliter sedem habetis ubi nec extranei ualent intrare nec uobis inde exire

1071 *MS.* spoken how how 1083 *MS.* olimpas 1085 *MS.* His asledde
 sonde] *emend. Sk.; cf. 129, 286, 226*

þat þer may comen in 3our kiþ non unkouþe peple;
 Ne 3e ne nowe of þat march in no manere wende, 1090
 But, be you loþ oþur lef, lenge þerinne.
 And for 3e, weihus, of þat won wende ne mowe,
 Wel alowe 3e 3our lif and 3our land alse.
 Al þe nede and þe noy þat 3e now suffren
 By asent of 3oursilf 3e sain þat 3e dryen; 1095
 And by þe sawe þat 3e sente to segge of 3oure fare
 3e arn liche of 3our lif to swiche loþe burnus
 þat ben in dep presoun don al hure daies time
 And han mirþus on molde missed ful clene.
 But lawe lereþ us and skile þat 3e ben leþur alle 1100
 And mow for 3oure mischef no mede have;
 For it comeþ 3ou of kinde in care to libbe —
 Sin 3e wonen in þat won þere wante is of goodus —
 þanne, seggus, semeþ hit nouht þat 3e so wirchen
 For sake of þe same God þat sittus in blisse. 1105
 þerefor to wo þat is wers wenden 3e schulle
 Whanne 3e parten fro þis paine þat pinncheþ 3ou here.
 þanne be 3e men upon molde most to bewepe,
 þat here to schame ben schape and ay schulle aftur.
 3it wolen wikkede men in þis word glade 1110
 þou3 þei ben damned to dul whan hure day endus.
 þo þat, ludus, in oure land alosed arn wise
 3e holde folus in faiþ and falce of byleve;
 Hit longeþ, ludus, til us 3our lif to bywepe,

permittitur, sed quasi conclusi in illis partibus permanetis, et dum non potestis
 dimittere terram uestram, laudatis illam, et penuriam quam patimini dicitis quod
 per contentiam eam patimini. Itaque secundum uestram doctrinam et illi qui
 in carcere (*fol. 60r*) positi sunt beati dicendi sunt, quia penalem uitam in carcere
 usque ad senectutem habent; neque enim dissimilis est a talibus uestra doctrina
 [et nostra], et bona [est] que habere dicitis similia sunt cruciatibus eorum qui in
 carcere sunt ut diximus; et illud quod <de> hominibus malis lex nostra iudicat
 uos naturaliter illum (*sic*) patimini. Propter hoc ita fit ut qui a uobis sapiens
 dicitur, apud nos reus pronuntietur; et certe conuenit nobis <ut> pro uestris
 miseriis plangamus et pro tantis malis uestris longa suspira trahimus. Que enim

And make for 3oure mischef mourninge sichus; 1115
 For wers faren no folk founde upon erþe
 þan frekus þat no frut han frely to libbe.
 God þat juge is of joie haþ jugged 3ou alle
 To lenge aftur 3our lif in lastinge paine,
 And He haþ marked 3ou, men, mischef on erþe 1120
 þouh 3e wene 3ou wise and wittie of lorus.
 þefore, seggus, as y saide, for sake of 3our dedus
 Mede mowe 3e of God in no manere fonge.
 3e ben unbleded of lif; for, burnus, y warne
 þat 3e holden so her holsome dedes 1125
 Gret wante is of wo and wikkede paine,
 þe whiche þe heie godus haten and hure hole peple.'
 Now ne tende we to touche more of þis tale aftur,
 For of þis egre emperour þus endeþ þe lettere.
 Whan þis makelese man þat most was adouted, 1130
 þe romme-riden Alixandre, richest of kingus,
 Hadde lengged þere longe and lettrus þe while
 Endited to Dindimus as him dere þoute,
 þere his burnus he bad bulden of marbre
 A piler sadliche ipicht or he passe wolde, 1135
 And þat þei wrouhten a wrytte and writen þeraboute:
 'Hidur have ich, Alixandre, wiþ myn help fare.'

103. Whan grave was þe graie ston, þe grime king rydus,
 And alle meven his men fro þe marke evene.

(cod. est) peior afflictio hominis potest esse enim <quam cui> negata est potestas in libertate uiuere? Noluit uos Deus in eternis suppliciis seruare, sed uiuos iudicauit uos tantam sustinere penuriam. Quamuis phylosophos uos esse dicatis, propter hoc tamen <nullum> fructum laudis habebitis. Verius ergo confirmo quia non est beatitudo uita uestra, sed castigatio et miseria.'

Interea precepit Alexander poni in eodem loco columpnam marmoream mire magnitudinis et iussit in ea scribi hunc uersum: 'Ego Alexander ueni usque ad hunc locum.'

103. Deinde amoto exercitu. . .

1115 *MS. mourninge sichus] emend Sk.; cf. 356* 1128 *MS. Now tende* 1132 *MS. legged] emend. Sk.; cf. 356*

NOTES

ALEXANDER A

1-10 Conventional romance introduction; an expansion of the 'Listeth, Lordes' formula and part and parcel of the machinery of ME. verse intended primarily for oral delivery (see Introduction, p. 111 above).

2-6 A shift from 2d to 3d plu., but *lordes*, *beurnes*, and *bacheleres* are all included in the apostrophe.

9 *one þe boldest* = one (of) the boldest. On this appositional construction for a partitive genitive, see E. Einenkel, *Streiszüge durch die Mittelengl. Syntax unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sprache Chaucers* (Münster, 1887), pp. 87-91; *ibid.*, *Gesch. d. Engl. Sprache*: II, *Historische Syntax* (3d ed., Strassburg: Trübner, 1916 = Vol. VI of Paul's *Grundriss*, 3d ed.), p. 51, § 16, §; H. B. Hinckley, *Modern Philol.* XVI (1918-1919), 46, 47 (note to C.T., F 734). This same construction occurs in *Al. A* 120, 257, 578.

11 ff. From here on to 451 the poet translates from Orosius; see Introduction, pp. 18-21 above, for a survey of the relation of English to Latin. For the history of Macedonia through the reign of Philip, father of Alexander the Great, see *Cambridge Ancient History* VI (1927), 200 ff. Note that Orosius' chronological indication is not inserted until later (100-105); the account of Alexander's fosterage is reserved until 46 ff. The rearrangement is the poet's.

12 *liðes*: the *d* which glosses the underlined *th* of the MS. I take to represent an *ð* of the archetype, and this *th* (*ð*) points almost certainly to *lith* (*NED*, sb.²) as the original word, here apparently confused with the more common *lede* (*NED*, sb.). *NED*, s. vv., recognizes no spelling of *lede* with *th*, nor of *lith* with *e*.

13 Amyntas: Amyntas II (393-369 B.C.) married the Lyncestian princess Eurydice (see 21 ff.).

22 *alder* here and in 27 represents OE. *ealra*; by his gloss 'elder' the scribe shows that he confused this with dialectal comparative of 'old.' See § 7, p. 85 above. Alisaunder is Alexander II (Amyntiades); see 27 ff. 'Sir Philip' is Philip II (Amyntiades), father of Alexander the Great.

23 *frobroyder*: a difficult word. E. Mätzner (*Wörterbuch* to his *Altenglische Sprachproben*, s. v.) writes: 'ein rätselhaftes Wort, wenn überhaupt echt; nach dem Zusammenhang muss es in der anzuführenden Stelle den jüngsten Bruder bezeichnen.' One can scarcely be positive on this point, yet worth noting is OE. *frēbroþer* 'own brother' which would yield quite

regularly an otherwise unrecorded ME. *frebrother*, dialectally *fro-* [*frø-*] (cf. p. 82 above). While favoring OE. *frēobroðer* as the etymon, I suspect that the *o* of MS. *fro-* is a scribal error for *frē-*. See C. D. Campbell, *The Names of Relationship in English* (Strassburg diss., 1905), pp. 7, 5.

25 Amyntas died 370 B.C.

27 Alexander Amyntiades had reigned 2 years when he was murdered (368 B.C.) by Ptolemy of Alorus, who joined forces with the widowed Eurydice against the pretensions of Athens.

34 *unkinde*: Schumacher (p. 83) finds this line suspicious with the alliteration on the unstressed *un-*; but see p. 98 above for list of examples of visual alliteration. Schumacher would emend to *unhende*. *Unkinde* 'unnatural,' not *unhende* 'ungracious,' is, however, the word wanted here.

46 ff. Philip was one of 30 hostages carried off in 367 to Thebes where he remained about three years in the house of Pammenes. By '*his broder*' the poet must mean Alexander, but the latter was murdered in the year of Philip's departure to Thebes. This confusion of history arises in Orosius who fails to mention Amyntas' second son, Perdiccas III; see Introduction, p. 19 above. In 365 Perdiccas drove out Ptolemy, giving the young Philip upon his return from Thebes a district in Macedonia to govern; Perdiccas died in 360-359 whether of a wound in battle or by assassination instigated by his mother Eurydice, leaving only an infant son Amyntas III. Numerous pretenders arose, but the Macedonians obliged Philip to take the monarchy to himself. He had first assumed the guardianship of the young Amyntas and then set him aside. In the poem the account of Philip's accession seems to arise from a confused attempt to reintroduce at all costs Epaminondas; see Introduction, p. 20, § e.

brought, not the gloss *beraft*, should stay; the alliteration is *br* (*b*), while *bereave* elsewhere, e. g. 81, 394, alliterates *r*. For the idiom 'bring from life,' see *NED*, s. v. '*bring*' vb. 8b.

58 The somewhat loose use of the inf. — absolute, purpose, or explanatory — amounts to almost a stylistic feature of *Al. A.*, e. g. here and in 61, 105, 158, 162, 164, 218, 226, 227, 247, *et passim*. 58 is the first of a number of lines with only two alliterating words; see Introduction, p. 97. Schumacher's proposed emendation (*op. cit.*, p. 180), *in his riche kingdom*, is unnecessary.

84 MS. *tamid* with *e* above *a*. The older *temid* is the reading to adopt (cf. *NED*, s. vv. *tame*, vb.¹ and *teme*, vb.).

87, 88 See MS. reading; Skeat's rearrangement of the pronouns is required.

88 MS. *reskueth troth* 'rescues fidelity'; this is nonsense. The good ruler 'receives fidelity, loyalty,' and we may perhaps emend to '*re-sheveth*'; for similar fourteenth-century spellings of 'receive,' see *NED*, s. v., *a*-forms.

95 MS. *à saute*, aphetic form of 'assault,' is apparently the word as in 301; for other examples see *NED*, s. v. 'sault' sb.¹ For *asaute*, see 145 below, and *passim*.

99 Trautmann (p. 11), followed by Schumacher (p. 180), would emend *sought* to *laught* for the sake of alliteration, but lines with only two alliterating words are not uncommon. See Introduction, pp. 96, 97.

lodelich: the MS. spelling is recognized by the *NED*, and may be kept; cf. *NED*, s. v. *loathly*, adj. and *Al. B* 592.

100-105 On the order of the narrative, see note to 11 above. The Orosian date followed by the poet is wrong: the correct date is A.U.C. 395; Philip reigned B.C. 359-336.

108-116 An account of sorts of Philip's wars against the Illyrians who, at the time of Philip's accession, had invaded western Macedonia under Bardylis, their king.

109 *Assyrienes*: an obvious error for 'Illyriens,' but the mistake may well have existed in the Orosian MS. from which the poet worked.

117-131 The subjugation of Larissa: with Crannon, Pharsalus, and Pherae, Larissa was one of the four leading cities of Thessaly. In 353 Philip advanced into Thessaly to help the princes of Larissa against Lycophron, tyrant of Pherae.

119 MS. *þat holde*, with *e* above *o* > *helde*. 'Hold,' 'stronghold' was evidently written by the poet, but the scribe (and Skeat) understood this as 'held,' pt. of 'hold' vb.: 'Larissa it was called, which held men exceedingly brave in (it).' *One þe klenist coste* (120) is variation on *holde*.

133-154 Apparently an invented account of Philip's campaigns in Thessaly (B.C. 353-352) against Pherae under the leadership of Lycophron and Onomarchus, Phocian general and his supporter. The Orosian account is, however, almost hopelessly confused; Onomarchus (Oros. Oenomaus) was slain or drowned at this time, yet he is not mentioned until 429 below. The *towne* '*Thessalonie*' cannot be identified with Thessalonica (vs. Skeat, marginal note); it is doubtful if the poet knew what he meant.

135 *Too see* (glossed *swee*) *onely þe townne or any oþer goodes*. The sense of the line is clear: 'merely to possess the town or any other property,' but *swee* (*see*) is difficult. Either lemma or gloss may be a spelling of 'sue' 'follow,' but the *NED* records no meaning 'to get possession of'; 'to go in pursuit of' is the nearest suitable sense (*NED*, s. v., 3). The present instance may, however, contain an extension in meaning, and in this connection it is worth noting that the alliteration is on vowels (*onely*, *oþer*); so that we must not assume that the exigencies of metre have driven the poet to force the sense. In 299 *sive* (or *seeue*, possibly *seene*?) evidently means 'to move against' (cf. *NED*, s. v., 18). In 1060 the spelling is *see*, and in 957 *sued* occurs.

The gloss *swee* (135) is, incidentally, a possible spelling for 'sway' (e. g. *Purity* 956), but transitive uses of this verb first begin to appear in the

sixteenth century. Have we perhaps here an early instance of the meaning 'to have control of' (*NED*, s. v. 9b; earliest instance 1587)?

Skeat's emendation in 135, 299 to *sese* 'seize' 'take possession of' (*NED*, s. v. *seize*, vb. 6) is desperate.

155-170 A recapitulation of Philip's previous campaigns.

155 On the basis of 276 and *metri causa* Schumacher (p. 180) proposes the substitution of *ferse* for *grim*. But the alliteration is not the only trouble; for, although there is no break in the MS., something may be lacking between the two halves of 155. I feel uncertain about *meete*, which stands here without an object and otherwise quite unmodified. The same idiom occurs in 433 below and is nowhere quite paralleled in the *NED*, e. g., s. v., 9 'to come together in the shock of battle.' In 340 *ifere* serves as a reciprocal pronoun.

167 MS. *fale*: Skeat emends to *fele*; see Introduction, p. 85, § 6, above.

171-254 Philip's marriage. In 359 Philip married Olympias, an Epirote princess, daughter of Neoptolemus I, king of Epirus.

172. *Erubel* (in 240 *Eruba*), gloss to *Arisba*: Arryba, brother of Olympias and, on the death of Neoptolemus, king of the Molossi, an Epirote tribe. He was guardian of his sister. He appears in Orosius as Aruba (Zangemeister, *ed. cit.*, p. 158, cites varr. Auruchia, Aurucha); in Justin (vii, 6, 10-12) he is Arryba. In the *Compilation of St Albans*, fol. 3r (p. 249 below) Sarraba represents the Justinian, Arucha the Orosian form; see *Speculum* I (1926), 229, 230. I can find no source for *Eruba*, *Erubel*, or *Arisba*; they are bad distortions. In his note to this line, Skeat (*ed. cit.*, p. 238) cites a variety of spellings including 'Erybba' which might well represent the source of *Eruba*, but I have not been able to find in what MS. or early print 'Erybba' occurs. On the basis of 255, 310, where the gloss is clearly the original and the lemma the scribal correction, I assume for editorial convenience that *Arisba* is here the scribe's 'correction.' Is the -l of *Erubel* for *sf*; Erubes (?) < Arrybas?

Schumacher (p. 83) would substitute *called* for *hote*; but cf. Introduction, pp. 96, 97, above.

173 *marques*: in a foot-note Skeat suggests that this 'should probably be *marches*'; 'marquis' is certainly nonsense, but better regard *marques* as a bad spelling for 'marches' and *stet*; cf. *marches*, 14.

Malasor (204 *Malasor*, 229 *Molosor*): the *Molossi* are meant, and the present form is based upon the genitive plu. *Malasorum*. In a note *ad loc.* Zangemeister cites MS. spellings *Malas-* beside *Molos-*. For the choice here of gloss vs. lemma, cf. note to 172.

175 MS. *seemely to sonde*: in his Glossary Skeat takes *sonde* as 'emissary' in the pregnant sense of a 'God-send' (cf. 973 below) and translates the phrase: 'a comely creature for a man to acquire.' This last is not recognized by the *NED*, s. v. *sand*, sb.¹. The scribe has, I think, almost

certainly misread *f* for *f* (*s*) (for scribal confusion of *f* and *s*, see *Al. B* 806, 925). *Fonde* in the sense 'to look at' (as in *Pearl* 170, cited *NED*, s. v. *fand*, vb. 1c) would fit well here; the sense 'to have intercourse with' (as in 740 below) would not be impossible.

178-199 The description of Olympias is the poet's and adheres closely to mediaeval convention; see W. C. Curry, *The Middle English Ideal of Personal Beauty* . . . (Leland Stanford Jr. Univ. diss.), Baltimore: Furst, 1916, and K. Weinhold, *Die Deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter* (3d ed., Vienna, 1897), I, 198-212.

186 *Schuft*: we seem to have to do here with a doublet of *ishaped*, with *u* [= *ü*] from the OE. present stem *scyppan* (see *NED*, s. v. *shape*, vb.). If this is the correct explanation, the *f* must be a scribal error for *p* (cf. *p* for *f* in *Al. B* 1063), but I prefer not to emend.

190 *Hupes* . . . *faire*: Schumacher (p. 180) *metri causa* would read *Hupes* . . . *hende*; for meaning this would be suitable (cf. *NED*, s. v. *hend*, adj. 6), but one alliterating word in each half-line is probably sufficient (cf. Introduction, pp. 96, 97 above).

204 *Malasor*: see note to 172 above.

209, 210 *Fode* (*NED*, s. v. *food*, sb. 6), meaning 'creature' 'person,' refers to Olympias and not, as Skeat thought, to Philip; it is the object of *geten*: 'otherwise Philip would have won that noble creature by grim stroke of sharp weapons.'

219 *bydyng bern*: I do not feel certain about the force of *bydyng*, but the context seems to point to a sense such as 'offering resistance' (as *NED*, s. v. *bide*, vb., 7); or the meaning may be thoroughly vague, e. g. 'living' developed perhaps from the meaning 'to sojourn' 'to dwell' (*NED*, s. v., 5).

231 MS. *raid hi to grounde*: on metrical grounds Schumacher (p. 180) proposes *laid* for *raid*, but there are other reasons for adopting this suggestion, first made by Rosenthal, *Anglia* I (1877-1878), 436, n. 1. If *raid* is the pt. of 'to ride,' it must be regarded as Northern and the work of the Northern transcriber (see Introduction, p. 90 and n. 5 above); formally *raid* is possible. More objectionable is the idiom 'to ride down (*to grounde*)' which seems first to appear in the nineteenth century (*NED*, s. v. *ride*, vb., 19); and on the other hand 'to lay to ground,' a variant of 'to lay low,' is not uncommon in the ME. romances (*NED*, s. v., *lay*, vb.,¹ 1 and 1b). Everything points to *laid* as the correct reading.

248 Skeat emends: *When he had so hem <hampred, he> hendely fetched*. Something of the kind is obviously needed though there is no break in the MS.

254 *grapes*: Skeat unnecessarily emends to *graiþes*: see Introduction, p. 90 above.

255-310 For the events here recounted out of chronological order, see note to 331-451 below.

255 *Comothonham* (310 *Komothonham*); a gloss to *Methone*. Μεθώνη πόλις, an Hellenic colony about 50 miles north of Pydna, fell to Philip probably early in the summer of 353. Latinized Methona by Justin, this spelling seems to have passed into the early prints and editions of Orosius until Zangemeister (*ed. cit.*, p. 158, varr). The better Orosian MSS have, however, *Mothone*, based upon an alternate Μεθώνη. As pointed out by Skeat (note to 255), *Comothonham* is the result of misunderstanding and false division of *cū mothonam urbem oppugnaret* (taken by Orosius from Justin vii, 6, 14). Does *-ham* reflect the influence of English place-names in *-ham*?

For a case where the Orosian Mathona (var. of Mothona) has influenced the text of Justin, see the *Compilation of St Albans*, fol. 3v (p. 250 below).

266-275 Conventional battle description; see Introduction, p. 20, n. 1, above.

268 *aireblast*: a curious spelling of 'arbalest,' on the face of it due to association with 'air' and possibly so regarded by the scribe, by whose time this weapon had passed into the realm of military antiquities. *Stet*, but note that the poet's form was probably 'areblast' (see forms in *NED*, s. v. *arbalest*), a variant of *arweblast*, *arowblast*, in turn due to popular association with 'arrow.'

280-286 For the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, pp. 20, 21, § f, above.

292 *Gairus*: MS. clearly *Gamus*. Skeat emends to *Gainus*, supposedly a spelling of 'ganzies' 'arrows,' of obscure origin. Skeat's emendation is specifically rejected by the *NED*, s. v. *ganyie*, and *gairus* is there proposed in its stead. For *gairus* as a Northern spelling of 'gare,' 'gore' of the original, see Introduction, p. 90 above; the name of a missile is required by the context. *Ganyie*, it may be noted, is Scottish and late (1425-1598) and is not likely to have been known to a fourteenth-century S. W.-Ml. writer.

294 *ungoine*: MS. clearly *ungome*, taken by Skeat as from the privative *un-* + OE. *guma* 'man' and rendered 'to unman.' The *NED* does not recognize such a verb and proposes the present emendation, first tentatively under 'stightly,' adv., and definitely under 'unjoin,' vb.², where the present passage is cited. On the basis of the once numerous *g*-spellings of many words now spelled with *j*- (cf. *NED*, s. v. *J* and *j*-words *passim*), I have retained the *g*- of the MS.

299 *sive*, see note to 135.

311-328 General reference to the state of Greece at this time, particularly to the chronic inability of the states to coöperate.

323, 324 *and fayled lyte/That all Greece hee ne gatt*: 'and almost won all Greece for himself.' The expression (*it?*) *fayled lyte that . . . ne* seems idiomatic and suggests the mod. French *peu s'en faut*; in the *NED*, s. v. *fail*, vb. 8, 'to fail little,' construed with *to* + inf. or *of* + gerund, is re-

corded only for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One would like earlier examples together with French parallels.

331-451 A muddled account of the Second Sacred War, 356-347 B.C. The war, starting as a struggle of the Phocians against the Dorians and Locrians for possession of Delphi, grew into a conflict between Phocis and Thebes when Thebes persuaded the Amphictyonic Council to impose a heavy fine upon Phocis (cf. 351 ff.) on the pretext that the Phocians had cultivated sacred ground at Cirrha. Under Philomelus (364 below) the Phocians, aided by Sparta (335 below) and Athens (415 below), for a time more than held their own against Thebes. Defeated by the Boeotians, Philomelus committed suicide in 355 B.C. (421 below). Under his successor Onomarchus (Oros. *Oenomaus*) (429 below) Phocis in 353 gained control of Thermopylae. At this point Philip, stirred into action, reduced the Chalcidice and took Methone (told quite out of order in 255 ff. above). In 347 B.C. the Thebans sought Philip's aid against the Phocians (400 ff. below). In the next year came the Peace of Philocrates, the 'Falsa Legatio,' and the check-mating of Athens.

343 *plaine feelde* 'full battle' (also 1142); earlier than *NED*, a¹, A, I, 3b.

349 *strane*: form and meaning for this passage are recognized by the *NED*, s. v. *strain*, vb.,¹ 18; for spelling, see Introduction, p. 90 above.

355 MS. *amounted more*: for the transitive use of 'to amount' construed with a simple object, see *NED*, s. v. 5.

370-396 Conventional battle description; see Introduction, p. 20, n. 1.

386 'So that those who stood their ground moved no more *after being struck by them* (sc. the Phocians) (*at hur stroke*); for this use of 'stint,' see *NED*, s. v. 4; cf. 443 below.

391 Note the use of Φ by the sixteenth-century scribe; a display of Renaissance knowledge of Greek?

396 MS. *hem to auenge*: as pointed out by Skeat the alliteration is on *h*; furthermore, there can be little question but that *hem* was the poet's form (see Introduction, p. 86, § iv, above). The emendation is obvious.

415 *and aunter hem pider*: '(the Athenians) betook themselves thither.' 'To adventure' 'to auntren' with and without the reflexive is recognized by both Mätzner (*Wörterbuch*) and the *NED* (s. v. *adventure*, vb. 3, 4) only as meaning 'to venture,' 'to risk.' In most cases this is evidently correct, e. g., 230 above, but here and in 902 below (without reflexive) and in *P. Pl. C*, xxi, 232 (*NED*, s. v. 3), the word seems to be quite colorless: in *P. Pl.*, *loc. cit.*, for example, God 'ventures' nothing; he goes and takes the race of Adam.

416 'in steel armour they rode hard (exerted themselves) upon mighty steeds.' For *strain on*, cf. *strane under* in 349 above and note.

MS. *stelger*: printed *stel ger* by Skeat. The same compound in a similar phrase is found in *Gawain* 260. For attributive use of 'steel,' see *NED*, s. v. *steel*, sb. 11b, where the present passage is cited.

424 *Enomanus*: based ultimately upon the Orosian Oenomaus, to which the variant Enomanus occurs in MSS and early prints.

437 'every warrior for his own part so exerted (expended) his strength that . . .' For *beset* in this sense, see *NED*, s. v., 6; the plu. *bisetten hur might* is to be construed *ad sensum* with *every segge*.

451 This portion of the narrative is closed with a final glance at the episode of the loss of Philip's eye (276-286 above).

452 Here the author leaves Orosius for a Latin MS. of the J²-recension of the *Historia de Preliis* (see Introduction, pp. 63 ff.); the change in source is alluded to in 457. On the relation of the *Historia de Preliis* to the Alexander Legend as a whole see Introduction, pp. 22 ff. above. Down to 1109 we have the popular Nectanabus episode; for a superficial account of this part of the Alexander Legend, see L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (Macmillan, 1923) I, 551-565, and on its wider affiliations, O. Weinreich, *Der Trug des Nectanebos: Wandlungen eines Novellenstoffs* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911). The Nectanabus episode enjoyed a certain life detached from the romance proper; note the so-called *Erfurt Alexander* (Introduction, p. 61 above), also a full account by Gower in *Conf. Amant.* vi, 2289 ff. and briefly in his *Traitié* No. vi (French). A brief story of the life and unhappy end of Nectanabus is included by Eustache Deschamps in his *Demoustracions contre Sortilèges* (ed. S. A. T. F., VII, 193) as a terrible example to those who would practise divination. As an example of Egyptian magic carried into the Graeco-Roman world this is very briefly discussed by M. Summers, *The Geography of Witchcraft* (New York: A. Knopf, 1927), pp. 15, 16, but here one may question whether Nectanabus' magical activities are genuinely Egyptian (see note to 459 below and more fully by Ausfeld, pp. 227, 228).

451 *at his graunte*: 'at his mercy,' 'subservient to him,' 'at his disposal' is what is meant; but this use of 'grant' is not recognized by the *NED* (present passage not quoted). The meaning here is probably an extension due to the exigencies of alliteration.

452-458 The poet's introduction.

459 ff. It was formerly thought that Νεκτανεβῶς (Nectanebus) of the Alexander legend was to be identified with Nectanebus II, last native king of Egypt, who succumbed to the superior force of Artaxerxes II of Persia and took refuge in flight to Ethiopia (so Ausfeld, p. 123). This view has, however, more recently been opposed by the Egyptologist A. Wiedemann, 'Nectanebus in der Alexandersage,' *Wochenschr. f. Klass. Philol.* XXXIV (1917), 591-595, who advances strong claims for Nectanebus I (Necht-neb-f) whose reign ended 362 or 360 B.C. Instances of magic with wax figures occur in Egyptian monuments from the earliest time down to the Graeco-Roman period, but nothing quite corresponds to what is here attributed to Nectanebus (Ausfeld, p. 124); see further G. Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1915), pp. 285

ff. (the adventure of the Sculptor Petesis and King Nectonabo) and *Cambridge Ancient History* VI, 148 ff. on the last native kings of Egypt.

460 Almost the same line in *W. of P* 119; see p. 110 above and n. 2.

463-465 The poet's.

463 MS. *Hee was on his craft*: something is obviously lacking between *was* and *on*. In note *ad loc.* Skeat suggests that 'some such word as *kene* or *kid* must be supplied.' In his edition Skeat prints *kene*.

465 *for ywis hee was knowe*: a difficult half-line. *Ywis* (*NED*, s. v. '*iwis*') seems to occur after the OE. period only as an adverb; what one wants here is an adjective: 'as a wise man he was famed' (cf. *NED*, s. v. '*for*,' prep. and conj. 19). It would seem that one had here an otherwise unrecorded survival of OE. *gewis* 'foreknowing' as in *þæt is gesægd þæt he wære gewis of his sylfes forþfōre* (OE. *Bede* iv, 24) or else a miswriting of *wis* (OE. *wīs*) 'wise.'

479 *A prest erþen þott*: in *prest* we seem to have an early example of 'to press' used of articles in the preparation of which pressure is used (cf. *NED*, s. v. *pressed*, ppl. adj.¹ and *press*, vb.¹ 3, 4, where the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century examples are of liquids and of cloth); yet this seems to be the sense here and not 'prest' 'ready' 'at hand.'

Erþen, too, is somewhat curious in that it seems to depend upon a Lat. MS. reading *terream* for the usual *eream* ('bronze,' 'brazen').

494-500 The Catalogue of the attacking peoples. See Ausfeld, pp. 124, 125. This catalogue varies somewhat in every version of the innumerable descendants of the Greek Pseudo-Callisthenes, and apparently in every MS. of every version. Consequently it is not surprising that the *Argini* (MS. *Augmi*) in 498 should not be represented in *M*¹, which, as pointed out p. 70 above, was not the poet's exemplar; *M*¹ is, however, in the main extraordinarily close to the English, so that it has only been necessary to insert *Argini* from Hilka's Latin text to bring English and Latin into complete agreement on the point of the Catalogue. The emendation of *m* in MS. *Augmi* to *ni* and of *u* to *r* is conservative; both errors of the transmitted English text are easily explicable as misreadings by the Elizabethan scribe.

502 *Weste*: despite the lack of any mention of the West (Europe vs. Asia) in the Latin here, I think that this is what is meant and that it represents an addition of the poet's (see *NED*, s. v. C 2a for other early examples). This text is probably too late (1330-1370) to favor OE. *wēsten* as the etymon (see *NED*, s. v. *weste*, sb. and adj.); by this time *waste* was the ordinary form.

506 'and, looking, said very properly to the man . . .' For this rare use of 'gleam,' see *NED*, s. v. 2. Skeat (Glossary) would emend *gainelich* to *gamelich* 'playfully,' and in view of the Latin *subridens* this easy emendation is attractive. It is not necessary, however; both 'gamely' and 'gainly' are common in ME. and especially in the alliterative poets.

513, 514 Historical tradition has it that this sentiment was expressed by Nectanebus II to his general Agesilaus (Ausfeld, p. 125). 513 is a difficult line and probably corrupt; the Latin helps one little. As Schumacher points out (p. 69), *v* and *w* do not alliterate elsewhere in the poem, though it is not unknown in other alliterative romances; Schumacher (*loc. cit.*) dismisses the possibility of an alliteration *il: unwele* (*i*: unaccented *u*). Both *il* and *unwele* are suspicious. Why is victory 'ill' ('evil')? *unwele* is altogether obscure to me. 'Unwell' seems out of the question; it appears to be a late word, Northern, first in the fifteenth century, and until the eighteenth century; its meaning is essentially 'unsound of health' (see *NED*, s. v.). Have we a miswriting of 'unwield,' adj., 'weak,' 'impotent,' apparently only found in this sense in *Cursor Mundi* (see *NED*, s. v.)? But do we not want a word meaning 'numerous' or 'vigorous,' translating *multitudo*? *Non liquet*.

520 ff. A similar apophthegm is attributed to Alexander in a Greek apophthegm-collection (Ausfeld, p. 125, n. 8). Similar figure in *Historia de Preliis*, §§ 46, 64; Hilka, p. 91, l. 28, p. 101, ll. 14-16.

522 Though there is no break in the MS., something is lacking after this line, which, as it stands, depends upon neither 521 nor 523. One expects something to this general effect: 'As often happens, a lion can easily drive a whole herd of deer in a glade; for success (in general) is not achieved through violence, strife, or strength of limb, but as God graciously grants.' For other missing lines, see Introduction, p. 8.

530-537 A curious treatment of the Latin, though both English and Latin make it clear that the Egyptians are to receive no help from their tutelar deities. Independent testimony of this tradition is found in a Leyden papyrus of the second century B.C. (Ausfeld, p. 125, n. 9). *Barbre* (533) is used like the Latin *barbaria* 'the land of the barbarians' and thus renders *barbarorum*.

543 On the tonsure of the beard and hair, as well as linen clothing, prescribed for Egyptian priests, see Ausfeld, p. 126, n. 3.

552 and *eft on his gate*: a line translating *uenit Macedoniam* is missing. *bat land* (553) obviously refers to Macedonia, yet it lacks an antecedent. For other missing lines, see Introduction, p. 8 above.

557 On Sarapis and temple inscriptions from the time of Nectanebus, see Ausfeld, p. 126, n. 5.

565 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 69. Ultimately Alexander comes to Egypt, receives a prophecy from Sarapis (§ 24, Hilka, p. 60) and worships at Nectanebus' statue (§ 25, Hilka, p. 62); according to Wiedemann, *art. cit. supra*, this would symbolize the return of Nectanebus I in the person of his son, Alexander.

570-573 For *scripserunt . . . posterum S* (fol. 103D) reads: *et ad pedes eiusdem statue illa responsa ad memoriam posuerunt*. Like *S*, *Al*. A has no reference to 'posterity.'

574-583 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, pp. 68, 69, above.

584 On the ME. use of 'Madame' as a respectful form of address, see A. G. Kennedy, 'Middle English Forms of Address,' *Flügel Memorial Volume* (Leland Stanford Jr Univ., 1916), pp. 202-204. In the original Greek, Armenian, and in Julius Valerius, the reason given for Nectanebus' haughtiness is that he still had in mind that he had once been a lord or king himself.

620-626 In the different redactions (and in the various MSS of the same) of the *Historia de Preliis* there is considerable variation in the disposition of these circles. *M*¹, with only two circles, is obviously corrupt; Hilka gives a normalized reading: *primus circulus continebat intelligentias duodecim; secundus continebat et habebat animalia duodecim; tertius habebat solem et lunam*. *M*¹ has lost the first circle, the second has become the first, and the third the second. In the immediate source of the English something of the same kind evidently happened, with the insertion of *tertius* before *lunam*. It is important to note that in the *J² Ital. C* (p. 91 of *ed. cit.*, p. 60 above) the situation is as in *Al. A*: *lo primo tenea intelligentia, nel sichondo lo sole, nel terzo la luna*. *Animalia* of the Latin and *signes* (*Al. A* 621) both refer to the divisions of the zodiac; see *NED*, s. v. *sign*, sb. 11, (where ref. to *Conf. Amant.* should read vii, 695) and Gower's *Confessio Amantis* vii, 962 ff. for an elaborate analysis.

The present account of the astrolabe planisphere both in the English and in the Latin of the *Historia de Preliis* (all recensions) exhibits a hopeless confusion of the Greek original, as has already been pointed out by T. O. Wedel, *The Mediæval Attitude toward Astrology* (Yale Studies in English, Vol. LX, 1920), p. 104. The Greek text, § 5 (W. Kroll, *ed. cit.*, p. 23, n. 3 above), runs as follows:

ἑπὶ μὲν τοῦ πρώτου κύκλου δεκανοὺς ἔχοντα τοὺς λς', ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ζῳδία τα ιβ', ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέσου ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ('having in the first circle the 36 decans, in the second the 12 signs of the Zodiac, and in the middle the sun and the moon'). As Wedel points out, 'δεκανοὺς,' the astrological decans (*NED*, s. v. 2), was falsely divided 'δεκα νοὺς,' giving ultimately 'intelligentias XII' of the Latin.

628-635 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 67 above.

652-655 In 337 B.C. Philip set aside Olympias and married Cleopatra, niece of his general Attalus; in the *Historia de Preliis* this is told in § 18 (Hilka, p. 42). For allusions in *Al. A*, see 656-674 and 800-802 below.

656-674 I have not found the source of these lines. Note that they contradict 817 ff. which is based upon the *Historia de Preliis*.

There is no break in the MS., but something seems to be missing after 657; Philip scarcely 'coveted to loathe' Olympias.

661 *grates* 'thanks rendered to God (or the gods),' an exceedingly rare word adapted from Lat. *grātes* (plu. tant.), was not understood by Skeat. The *NED*, s. v., records one instance from ca. 1485.

682-686 The poet elaborates the Latin by having Olympias refer explicitly to the cause of her anxiety.

685, 686 In the romance Alexander ultimately forces Philip to cast off Cleopatra and take back Olympias (§ 18, Hilka, pp. 42, 43); in actual fact, however, the reconciliation proved to be very hollow.

689 *borde bed*: I do not understand *borde*; is 'wooden' meant? but instances of the attributive use of 'board' are late. Perhaps a miswriting of *brode* 'broad' or *burde* 'woman's' or *brede* 'board'?

697 *hornes of sylver*: this corresponds to none of the versions known to me; *arietina* 'of a ram' is the regular word and seems to be reflected in *ischape as a sheepe* in 732 below. Did the poet's Latin source have *argentina* here? If so, how does he know about 'sheep' in 732? Perhaps an arbitrary change.

699 *With here on his hedde and his berd also*: in most Latin MSS the reading is *barbam canis ornatam*, e. g. Hilka, p. 23a, l. 3. *M*¹ is obviously corrupt, but *Ba*. (Pfister, p. 50, l. 17) has *canos barbamque ornatam*, and *S* (fol. 104C; see Z. 133, 21 n.) has *barbam canos ornatam*; some such reading must lie behind *Al. A*.

713-737 The poet's elaboration.

735-737 Nectanabus as an object of public worship is the poet's invention.

753-755 The poet's elaboration.

757 Surely an aside and not, as printed by Skeat, part of Nectanabus' speech; cf. 760, 761, where Nectanabus will test the *sawe*, and 973.

793 ff. Since the queen's pregnancy is ignored in the English above, the lapse of time suggested by *cumque cepisset uterus eius crescere* is omitted. The scene of Olympias attended by her maids-in-waiting is the poet's.

793 *far-forthe on* 'late on in'; a century earlier than *NED*, s. v. '*far-forth*' 1; cf. *Al. B* 939.

800-802 Cf. note to 652-655 above. Note that *targe*, obsolete by the sixteenth century, is here glossed by the synonymous <*tar*>*ie* ('tarry').

807-810 The Latin corresponding to these lines is virtually identical with that corresponding to 707-712 above; the poet has successfully varied his rendering.

817-834 Elaboration by the poet. Note that *et post hec dicens . . . patre suo Filippo* of the Latin is not translated here but is used in 862-866.

837 MS. *þan hee in haste*: a verb is missing and Skeat emends to *þan hee [nyed] in haste*, appropriate to the sense; cf. 1015, 1016.

862-866 The prophecy omitted after 834 is introduced here; Alexander appears later as the avenger of his mother (§ 18, Hilka, pp. 42, 43) and of Philip (§ 20, Hilka, p. 53).

867-874 The interpretation of the prophecy is the poet's; in the Latin the prophecy is announced to Philip in a dream (cf. 817-834), not in the presence of the soothsayers.

877-899 From the Latin of the *Historia de Preliis* with some historical generalities inferred from the historical portions, e. g. 900 ff. below.

887 *as hee folke sleew*: I do not understand *as*; is it for *and*? but even this does not seem right.

900-938 Historical Interpolation No. 2; see Introduction, p. 21 above. Generally speaking, this is a continuation of 451 above and treats of the Third Sacred War (339-337 B.C.). Philip's seizure of Elatea in the autumn of 338 produced consternation in both Athens and Thebes; the latter, won over by Demosthenes, abandoned its alliance with Philip and joined with Athens. Philip, aided by the eighteen-year-old Alexander, defeated the allies at Chaeronea (August or September, 338), treating Athens with considerable generosity, Thebes mercilessly.

901 MS. *Was going too þe over Greece as a grete prince*: a desperate line. Skeat (note *ad loc.*) dismissed *þe* as an article without substantive, substituting *ride* in its place, with the suggestion that *þe* (earlier *ðe*?) might have arisen from the second syllable of *ride*. Skeat's proposal is open to a number of objections, of which the chief perhaps is that the use of *going to* (with active or passive inf.) is late (see *NED*, s. v. *go*, vb. 47b where 1482 is the earliest example); this tends to eliminate the possibility of *þe* being an infinitive (OE. *ðēon*) and meaning possibly 'to prosper in war.' *too þe* might conceivably have arisen from a misreading of *forþe*, but this seems unlikely. *Non liquet*.

923, 924 Skeat's emendation of '*of*' seems necessary. In note *ad loc.* he would add *was after wille*; this is less certain.

Hee (924) seems merely to repeat *Hee* from 923 just as *Hee* in 1095 refers directly back to *Alisaunder* in 1094.

928 Schumacher (p. 180) would emend *holdes* to *boldes* on the basis of 860. Unnecessary; cf. Introduction, pp. 96, 97 above.

939-953 Philip's Cappadocian campaign. Unhistorical. Philip planned a campaign into Persia, and in the spring of 336 his generals Attalus and Parmenion were sent into Asia Minor to prepare the way. But Philip himself was assassinated in the same year by Pausanias, one of his guardsmen (told in the *Historia de Preliis*, § 20, Hilka, p. 53). In a side-note to 942 and note to 944, Skeat accepts Sigbert Haverkamp's suggestion (*Pauli Orosii . . . aduersus Paganos Historiarum Libri Septem*, Leyden, 1738, p. 171, n. 23) that *Chalcidem* or *Chalcidicam* should be substituted here. At all events, Orosius and the poet who is here translating him meant Cappadocia. Cappadocia is mentioned again in 1110 below as one of Philip's provinces.

942 Skeat (note *ad loc.*) and Trautmann (p. 11, n. 4) suggest *ka(i)res*

for *fares*. A likely emendation but unnecessary; for lines with one alliterating word in each half, see Introduction, pp. 96, 97 above.

960 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 66, § c, above.

988 To secure double alliteration, Schumacher (p. 180) proposes *light* for *right*; but we seem to have here the common use of 'right' with prep. and adv. of place (*NED*, s. v. *right*, adv. 7).

991-996 The poet expands the Latin, drawing upon the substance³ of 889, 890.

997, 998 The poet's.

1011 MS. worme] *wrom suprascript. Durior lectio preferenda; wrom* is not recorded in the *NED*, s. v. *worm*, but *wrim* and *wurem* are both recorded for the 13th century.

1017, 1018 A free treatment of *et ostendit . . . quemadmodum acciderat*.

1027-1032 The simile is the poet's.

1030 MS. *a roum*: I take this to be the adv. *a-roum* 'at a distance,' meaning here 'far and wide' (cf. *NED*, s. v. *a-room*, adv.).

1034 For the break in the narrative, see Introduction, pp. 4, 17 above. The French text, printed by Skeat (*ed. cit.*, pp. 209-211) to fill the gap, is from MS. Bibl. du Roi 7517 (= B.N. MS. *fonds franç. 1418*), ed. J. Berger de Xivrey, *Notices et Extraits des MSS XIII* (1838), ii, 297-299 and corresponds to Hilka, p. 28, l. 18-p. 31, l. 9 (*dist*). See O. Feis, 'Die Geburt Alexanders des Grossen (Die Wandlung einer Geburtsgeschichte),' *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Medizin* XI (1919) 260-277, for an interesting study of the account of Olympias' parturition in Leo's and many other versions.

1041, 1042 The poet's and added to motivate what follows.

1043, 1044 The second half of each line is left blank in the MS.; cf. 1074 ff. below. The original may have been illegible to the scribe. Skeat invents (his 1043b) [*care pou no more*] and (his 1044b) [*bat schal saue þe at nede*], but these inventions are scarcely even theoretically acceptable, since the Latin includes reference to Philip, and Skeat gives us, furthermore, nothing to translate *cepit computare*.

1047 The Latin *separando ab ea* (sc. Olympias) *desiderium* is corrupt. The point of the Greek original seems to have been that the sun stood in opposition to Venus and quenched Philip's love for women. The English, we may note, has gone further still and conveys the notion that Nectanebus looked at the star, hoping to get from it both his own heart's desire and some useful hints. See Pfister, p. 2 and Ausfeld, p. 37, § 14, n. 1.

1050-1053 The poet's elaboration.

1054 Skeat (followed by the *NED*, s. v. *fand*, vb., 4b) interprets: 'Dear father,' said the man [*sc. Alexander*], 'tell me, I ask.' But the line seems to me suspicious and the word-order 'ask I, me tell!' unnatural. It

might be questioned whether the symbol taken for 'I' is not a right-hand round bracket; see p. 6, nn. 1 and 2 above. *Non liquet*.

1055 *sticketh*: 'is fixed (of stars vs. planets)'; cf. Richard Rolle's *Prick of Conscience* 7633: *Seven planetes er obouen us . . . þai styk noght fast als smale sternes dose* (cited *NED*, s. v. *stick* vb. 1, 5); cf. also *Wars of Alexander* 683.

1060, 1061 A difficult couplet: 'Yes, my son, if thou wilt follow <me> at a fixed time, <in> the darkest hour of this night.' *Wooste þou see* translates, I take it, *sequare me*; for the form *wooste*, see *NED*, s. v. *will*, vb. 9. *The inkest howre* of the MS. is desperate; the MS. is clear to me (vs. Skeat, *ed. cit.*, p. 247, note *ad loc.*; see Pl. I, p. 162 above); Skeat glosses *inkest* 'inkiest' 'darkest.' One seeks in vain for a suitable word with *n-* for the first alliterating stave; this is not essential, however, and for lines with but two alliterating words, see Introduction, 96, 97 above.

Inkest = 'inkiest' is itself scarcely acceptable since the earliest instance of 'inky' is 1581. However, the scribe may have taken the word, whatever it was, for 'inkiest'; if so, his spelling is bad. In any event *inkest* strikes me as altogether spurious, and I venture to emend to *merkest*. The archetype may very easily have had *m̃kest* with the mark of abbreviation for *er* rubbed or even ignored: *mkest* (with no mark over the *m*) would have been meaningless, and the minims of the *m* might easily have been read in (for exactly the reverse process, cf. *ungoine* in 294 above and note). In the alliterative *Destruction of Troy* 9678, the E.E.T.S. ed. indicates, for instance, that *merke* is written *m̃ke* in the MS. See *NED*, s. v. *murk*, adj., for the meaning 'dark' with 'night'; add to references there *Destr. Troy* 408.

1064, 1065 The poet's.

1067 Not a translation of *fatum tuum agnoscis*, but of *quam mortem debes facere*, which is, accordingly, not repeated 1068-1071 below.

1069 *dreedefull dedes stoundes*: in the light of what follows, *stound* may here be used in the sense of 'violent attack' 'onset' (*NED*, s. v., 2b); yet to me there is some question whether *stoundes* is right, and even whether *dedes* is the gen. plu. of 'deed' and not the alternate form of 'death.' If *stoundes* is an adverbial gen. = 'at some time,' perhaps translate 'I shall die sometime by terrible deeds' (?) — very doubtful.

1074 ff. I have restored the order of lines to that of the MS. The archetype was probably illegible or otherwise corrupt; see note to 1043 above. *The walles besyde*: taken by Skeat to fill out the second half of 1076 (his 1075); I do not feel sure that these belong together.

1076 There is nothing to translate '*Filii Alexander, respice stellas*'; Skeat invents (his 1076) ['*Sone, sayde Nectanabus, see 3ond þe sterres*'].

1077 Although there is no break in the MS., it is clear that this line in the MS. is made up of two originally independent half-lines. One looks for mention of Hercules as in the Latin, and the alliteration is defective.

1080 A line or so is lacking to translate *accessit ei propius Alexander*. There is a violent change of subject; here *hee* refers to Nectanabus; in 1081 *Hee* refers to Alexander.

1084-1091 The poet's elaboration, with some Christian moralizing.

1089 T. O. Wedel (*op. cit.* in note to 620-626, p. 104, n. 1) points out the Christian character of this taunt of impiety.

1091 *ern*: apparently = 'long for' and to be added to *NED*, 'earn,' v³, 1; discussion in *NED*, s.v. 'yearn,' v¹ would have been welcome.

1093 Effective condensation of the Latin dialogue.

1095 *armed in hert*: 'bold in heart (Skeat),' but may not *harmed in hert* 'depressed in heart (spirit) be meant, to translate *pietate commotus paterna*? 'Armed' and 'in hert' alliterate in *Gawain* 2335.

1096, 1097 The poet's invention. Something is lacking after 1097 to translate *eleuans corpus . . . Olimpiadis dixit ei*; Skeat invents (his 1098) [*And cau3t up be cors and cayres to be queene*].

1101 Apparently a free treatment of *et illa dixit*; 'Nectanabus pater tuus fuit.' A line translating *Alexander dixit* is lacking; note the violent change in person, with *thy* (1102) referring to Olympias (*stultitia tua*) (cf. 1080).

1105, 1106 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 64 above.

1109 ff. The Bucephalus episode. The poet omits the name of the horse.

While the spelling *Bucefalasus* of *M*¹ is of no importance for *Al. A*, it is of interest to note that just such a spelling evidently lies behind *Bucifalasso* of the J² *Ital. C* (p. 101, *ed. cit.*, p. 60 above). Of the three etymologies in the Latin, *quod taurinum caput in armo ustum* alone is correct.

1113 *ybrested to-ryght*: on the basis of the Latin one expects a line saying 'he had a bull's head branded on his shoulder.' As it stands, however, we seem to have a kind of asyndetic parataxis: 'he had a head like a bull (and) had a fine chest (was properly chested, breasted).' The poet has misunderstood his text or else his MS. was corrupt.

1125 This line should no doubt follow 1127, but the antecedent of *hym* is Philip, and, even after effecting this transposition, something is still lacking after 1127.

1129, 1130 As noted by Skeat, something is lacking between these lines to translate *cumque autem uidisset . . . preparata illi*; Skeat invents [*A cave he comanded to coynt men inou3*] (Skeat's 1131).

1132-1135 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 65, §§ b, c.

1140 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 69, § 5.

1145 For *doone and dedde*, cf. 32 above.

1146-1151 The poet elaborates somewhat on the Latin, makes the Athenian populace the subject, and does not introduce Alexander until 1160.

1159 MS. *iuyses*: Skeat, printing *iustes* ('justices?'), writes (note to his 1161): 'The MS. may be read as "iustes" or "iuyses," the word being indistinct. The former, however, is certainly meant.' Skeat is followed by the *NED*, s. v. '*unjoyful*.' The reverse is almost surely the case; the MS. reading is clear to me and *juyses* (*NED*, s. v. '*juise*'), 'judgments,' 'dooms,' 'judicial sentences,' is the word wanted.

1160 ff. The taming of Bucephalus. The similarity of this with the taming of Ebroun's horse [Brunsaudebriuel] in *William of Palerne* 3279 ff. (cf. *idem*, 3225 ff.) is striking. The influence of this portion of the Alexander Legend upon the OFr. *Guillaume de Palerne* 5405 ff., the ME. *William of Palerne*, and upon the account of the horse Dúlcifal in *Göngu-Hrólfs Saga* (the latter already broached by A. Veselovskii, *Византийский Временник* IV, 1897, 579-581) will be the subject of a forthcoming study.

1165 Spellings of 'wise,' sb. (OE. *wise*, f.) with double 's' are recorded by the *NED*, s. v.

1178 The figure of the lamb is the poet's.

1179 MS. *hous lorde* with *untes* above -us of *hous*. We have a choice, then, of (1) *hous-lorde* (OE. *hūs-hlāford*), 'lord, master of the house' 'master' (*NED*, s. v. *house*, sb. 23), or (2) *huntes lorde*, 'master of (the) hunt.' But attributive and combinatory uses of 'hunt' are not recorded before the sixteenth century, and the present combination is not recorded at all by the *NED*, s. v. *hunt*, sb.,² 4.

1199 At this point the poet leaves the *Historia de Preliis* for Orosius; see Introduction, p. 63 above. For the portion of the story (according to J²) wanting between this point and the beginning of *Al. B.* see Hilka, p. 36, l. 32-p. 182, § 90.

1202 Third Historical Interpolation; see Introduction, pp. 21, 22 above. In 340 Philip made abortive attacks, first upon Perinthus, then upon Byzantium.

1204 On the basis of 329 and 952, Schumacher (p. 180) would emend *thriftily* to *tristily*. The present instance of 'thriftily' is slightly earlier than any cited in *NED*, s. v., but see Introduction, p. 100 above for another instance of *t:th*.

1235 Trautmann (p. 11, n. 4) proposes *ryng* for *kyng*; but for other lines with only one alliterating word in each half, see Introduction, pp. 96, 97 above.

1242 *of a peny-brede* 'by a jot.' This adverbial phrase of negation, not noted by F. H. Sykes (*French Elements in Middle English*, Oxford, 1899, pp. 28, 34), seems to mean lit. 'by a baker's board (*bred*, sb.) for moulding penny-loaves'; see *NED*, s. v. '*penny*' 12c and illustration for 1390 and 1411.

ALEXANDER B

1 ff. For a brief analysis of this part of the romance, see Introduction, p. 17 above; for a discussion of the relation of the English to the Latin, see pp. 71 ff. above. On the illuminations in the MS. and the rubrics to the same, see pp. 9, 10 above.

5 *proved ful proude and prys of hem helde*: a downright contradiction of *uero non sunt superbi*; the poet evidently translated mechanically (cf. 39) from a defective Latin text, where *non* was omitted.

6 MS. *oridrace*: 'Οξυδράκες. It is easy to confuse MS. *x* with MS. *r*.

For references to the historical Alexander's sojourn among the Oxy-drakai, an autonomous Punjab tribe dwelling on the banks of the upper course of the Hyphasis River, see J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece* (Macmillan, 1913), II, 81 (commentary on Bk i, 6, 2); and for discussion of the campaign, V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India* (4th ed., revised S. M. Edwardes, Oxford Univ. Press, 1924), pp. 98 ff.

11, 12 *Genosophistiens*: Gymnosophists (γυμνο- 'naked' + σοφιστής 'wise man'), a sect of ascetic Hindoo philosophers; see H. Becker, 'Die Brahmanen in der Alexandersage,' *Programm d. Kgl. Friederichs-Kollegiums* (Königsberg, 1889), pp. 2, 29, 30, 34.

On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 72, § a, above.

19 *southte*: not, as Skeat (Glossary, s. v.) suggests, for *souchte*; for spellings with *th* (ð) for *ch* in this word, see *NED*, s. v. 'seek.'

22 MS. *tipinge it*: Skeat emends to *tipinge* [*tid*] *it* 'to make the line run better'; but for lines with only one alliterating word in each half, see Introduction, pp. 96, 97 above.

67 Schumacher (p. 181) proposes *zepe* 'bold' for *leve*; but *zou* satisfies the metrical requirements. I should not understand *zepe* in this context.

80, 81 'How, in the name of reason and honor, canst thou keep thyself from dishonor, while wrongfully depriving dominions of (their) kings?' Schumacher (p. 116) would emend *kepe þe* to *skapen* or *askape*, but for lines with only two alliterating words, see Introduction, pp. 96, 97 above.

88 *wrouthe*: for same spelling, see 775 and R. J. Menner's note to 'wroth,' *Purity* 821 in his edition (p. 96). Cf. also *southie*, 19 above, *un-rith* 568, and *mithielese* 712.

127 MS. *panne a bold kniht*: a verb is obviously omitted; Skeat conjecturally supplies [*buskede*] after *panne*.

138, 139 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 72, § b above, and on the relation of the *Collatio* to the romance, pp. 46, 47 above.

166 MS. *Ho dide*: certainly miswritten for *He dide* as suggested by Skeat, Glossary, s. v. Cf. 926 (MS. *prouep* for *prevey*) for similar confusion of *e* and *o*.

169 MS. *romwus*: a spurious form and surely for *rowmus*, a spelling of 'roam'; see *NED*, s. v. *roam*, v.

197 MS. *sendeþ him gon*: in 253, 254 we read *Sendeþ lettres . . . and grauntinge of joie*, and both passages render *gaudium* of the Latin. *gon* is certainly a miswriting of *goie*; on *g* for *j*, see note to *ungoine*, A 294; cf. 772 below.

214 MS. *and fonde for bi mizht 3our fare to sinke*: corrupt. Skeat (note *ad loc.*) emends *bi* to *mi* and translates 'endeavor as far as I can,' saying that *for my might* is the 'right idiom.' *by might* is recorded from 1290 by the *NED*, s. v. *might*, sb. 1b (*bi al heore mizhte*) and by Mätzner, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. *maht* (*bi al is mizte*), but uses of *for* are unknown. Furthermore, the *NED* recognizes no construction of 'fand' with 'for.' The *f* of *for* may easily be a misreading of *f* (*s*) as in 1085 (cf. probable cases of *s* for *f* in B 389, A 175) and I believe that *sor* is the word. For *sor* (OE. *sāre*) 'earnestly,' cf. *NED*, s. v. *sore*, adv. 7, 8, 10.

MS. *sinke* is difficult, too. As Skeat (note *ad loc.*) points out, *w* of the manuscripts looks not unlike *ik* or *lk*; an original *suwe* might thus be carelessly read *suike*, *sulke*, or, as apparently here, *sinke*. But I see *suwe* rather than *sewe* (Skeat) as the source of the error.

Emended, the line may be translated: 'try earnestly (and) with effort to follow your course of life.' The resulting cross-alliteration (*f:s:f:s*) is not without precedent; see Introduction, p. 97 above.

217-220 There is considerable variety in the use of possessive adjectives in the corresponding Latin. *Al. B* follows the tradition represented in J¹ (Z., p. 221, 1), and Hilka's J² (p. 187, ll. 22, 23): *nostris doctoribus, uita nostra*. *S* (fol. 135A), on the other hand, has *uestris autoribus, uita uestra*, while *M*¹ compromises with *nostris doctoribus, uita uestra*.

228 'For it may, in fact, redound to your credit rather than harm you.' *Al. B* does not bring out the alternatives given in the Latin: 'you wont suffer and we may profit,' and it is difficult to know whether 228 is based entirely upon *uobis nullum dampnum exinde adueniet*, or on a free adaptation of this and the phrase *et uobis . . . accresceret* lacking in *M*¹ and supplied from Hilka.

233 ff. A commonplace: Chaucer, *C. T.*, D 333 ff. and *B. of D.* 963-965, borrows this same notion from *Rom. de la Rose* 7409 ff. (ed. E. Langlois).

261 *riht wisdam*: perhaps one word and synonym. with *rihtewisnesse* (258); if so, a formation analogous to *righteoushead*, *-laik* (*NED*, s. vv.).

282 *wiþ*: obviously not the preposition 'with.' Skeat (sidenote) suggests *wis*, 'certainly (?)'. Rather one of the numerous vocatives, and probably a spelling of 'wight'; for *th* for *cht* cf. 1 above.

292 As if translating '*dicimus* esse necessarium ut nihil superfluum sit.

302 Skeat (note *ad loc.*) *metri causa* would emend *refe* to *bruten* <en> 'destroy'; but for lines with only one alliterating word in each half, see Introduction, pp. 96, 97 above.

325, 326 Between *co* and *ge* (325) is a series of eight perfectly legible but ambiguous minims with an apex (to mark *i*) over the third; what word is intended, I cannot imagine: the first four letters may be *covi-*, *coni-*, *conj-*, or *couj-* with five minims left over. Skeat ventures *cominnge* and translates 'by the arrival of natural decay,' but this seems to me strained.

I do not understand 326: why 'fear death'? this is not in the Latin and seems contradictory to the spirit of the passage. The couplet is puzzling.

337 Skeat removes the first *þat* and gets a smoother text, but the MS. is, I think, defensible: 'I counsel you this, mighty emperor, (namely) that you strive quickly, etc.'

356 MS. *thabeus*: as frequently in the MS., the macron (here over the *e*) has been left off. It is interesting to note the agreement in the spelling *T(h)abenus* of *M^r*, *Al. B.*, and *Kon. Alex.* (*Tabena*, 6235), reflecting a MS. tradition where *Tababenus* (Hilka, p. 190, l. 25, *S*, fol. 135D, and *Z.*, p. 223, l. 13, *Tabobenus*) was reduced by haplography.

359-362 As noted by Skeat, these lines paraphrase 1 Cor. x, 31: *Siue ergo manducatis, siue bibitis, siue aliud quid facitis: omnia in gloriam Dei facite*; apparently not alluded to elsewhere in earlier Middle-English literature according to M. W. Smyth, *Biblical Quotations in Middle English Literature* (Yale Studies in English, Vol. XLI, 1911), Index, p. 301.

371 MS. *þat seggus haunteþ*: apparently '(a sin) which men practise habitually'; in this case *haunteþ* is a Southern plural as *hap* (630), *worpeþ* (634), *ariseþ* (662), *turneþ* (755).

373, 374 It would seem almost certain that 429: *Non is sternere of stat no slouler þan opir*, should be taken between these lines to match *nullus inter nos fortior est altero*. Where it occurs in the MS., 429 seems slightly out of place.

381-387 'We hold it a virtue to ignore mercy among our people; for we are inclined to grant mercy to no man. We commit no offence either against God or man for which we must remember to cry for mercy that, for our guilt, God should forgive us the sin of any wicked work we ever wrought.' Awkward and somewhat incoherent. With 383 taken after 385 the sense is improved and the English brought nearer the Latin: 'We hold it a virtue to ignore mercy among our people; against neither God nor man do we commit any offence for which we must remember to cry for mercy. For we are inclined to grant mercy to no man in order that God for our guilt should forgive us the sin of any wicked work we ever wrought.'

On the relation of English to Latin in 383, see Introduction, p. 76, § a above.

390, 391 The poet's but based on the Latin translated by 608.

393 *in brigge*: formally this may be a fourteenth-century spelling of 'brigue' (*NED*) 'contention' 'strife,' but this (proposed by Stevenson, rejected by Skeat) does not fit the sense. Have we a miswriting or un-

recognized variant of 'brike' (*NED*), 'dilemma,' or 'bruche' (*NED*) 'transgression.' This last, proposed by Skeat (note *ad loc.*) fits the sense perfectly, but the formal objections are considerable.

395 MS. *parte blisse*: 'share joy' is impossible; Skeat emends: *parte fram blisse*, but *fro* is the commoner in this text.

400, 401 These lines depart from the Latin: *quia per sordida facta ipsum aerem non corrumpimus*. *lizthe* surely means 'alleviate' 'cheer'; it would be an impossible form for 'lit' vb. (*NED*) 'dye' 'stain,' proposed by Skeat in an effort to bring the English into line with an emendation of the J³ Latin made by himself.

426, 427 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 73, § c, above.

429 Probably to be taken between 373 and 374 (see note above); it translates nothing in the Latin here and is unessential to the argument in progress.

437 *Metri causa* Skeat emends *holdus* to *boldus* and compares 848; but for lines with one alliterating word in each half-line, see Introduction, pp. 96, 97 above.

456 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 73, § d, above.

459, 460 These lines correspond to *nostra simplicitas nos non permittit mentiri* and should perhaps be read after 456.

468 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 76, § b above.

475 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 74, § e, above.

476 For *lem is on* (MS. of) *loft*, see 122. What is *and lisse to Gode?* 'and (this is a) joy to God'?

483-489 483 and 485 are self-contradictory. The English does not follow the Latin, ignoring *non dissipat uicinam terram*.

495 For *nostris partibus* of M¹, Hilka (p. 192, l. 17) has *nostris naribus*; the English might be based upon either reading.

501 For the source of *ris*, see Introduction, p. 76, § e, above.

503 Skeat emends to [*in*] *þe braunchus*, but cf. 134.

515 The reason here given for the discourse to follow is the poet's.

533 *Oxian*: apparently a nonce-spelling (listed *NED*, s. v. *ocean*, sb. 3b) of the usual ME. *occian*.

538, 539 The poet has missed the point of the Latin: *omnia manducantes uultum semper ieiunum portastis*.

546, 547 M¹ reads *inter gentes et qui* vs. Hilka (p. 192, l. 37) and S (fol. 137A; see Z., p. 226, l. 18) with *inter reges qui*. *Al. B* evidently is translated from a text with *inter reges; et gentes qui* . . .

550 *micel gilte 3e* 'you sin greatly': all Latin versions say 'you incite others to evil.'

567, 568 There is nothing here to translate *uos homines non dimittitis in sua libertate uiuere sed seruos illos habetis*. This doctrine, put somewhat differently, occurs above as the source of 430-433 and is probably omitted on stylistic grounds.

571-574 These lines follow the Latin of *M*¹ and with *M*¹ omit several lines: *loquendi*. <*Omnem . . . loquendi*> *tamen multum* (Hilka, p. 193, ll. 11-14). The omission in the Latin, in *M*¹ and presumably in the source of *Al. B*, is evidently due to a sort of haplography (*loquendi . . . loquendi*).

579, 580 *Al. B* exhibits an interesting agreement with *M*¹ vs. Hilka (p. 193, l. 15): *M*¹ with *et non tantum manducatis* vs. Hilka's *et tantum manducatis*.

585, 586 In 3e were alle . . . ybrouht forth *Al. B* follows *illa mater uos genuit* of Hilka (p. 193, l. 20) and *J*¹ (*Z.*, p. 227, l. 13) vs. *nos genuit* of *M*¹ and *S*, fol. 137B.

593 MS. 3e *buren*. On its face *buren* = 'bury' as in 775, but this seems to be an impossible interpretation. The whole emphasis of the original (all Latin texts) is that the Greeks practise cremation. *buren* must stand for *burne* 'you burn' and as such is an early example of this spelling (cf. Luick, § 432, p. 481). Did the original have *brenne* here as in 235, 555, 683, and 1068? Did the scribe misunderstand the passage?

606-608 Based on the Latin also translated by 1044-1049.

628-603 The reason here given is the poet's. In all Latin texts the rebuke is made on the ground that the Greeks think their nature divine and that they are in communion with God.

645 The *μικρόκοσμος* of the astrologers. For a brief contemporary exposition of the influence of the zodiacal signs upon the parts of the body, see Chaucer's *Astrolabe* i, § 21, 50-55, Skeat's notes for further illustration, and W. C. Curry, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, American Branch, 1926), esp. chap. V and notes to same (pp. 253 ff.). Gower made use of this part of the *Collatio* in *C. A.* v, 1453-1496 (cf. Introduction, p. 57, n. 5, above).

654 *he foundede*: Skeat emended to *hue* to conform with 656 ff. (*hue*, *hure*), but *stet*, since confusion in the sexes of the gods is quite possible. Cf. note to 659 and 697.

659 Jupiter: an error for Juno; cf. Introduction, p. 75, note 4, above and 697-703 below.

682 *folie*: probably the adjective 'folly' (*NED*), but possibly the sb. with *fur* in apposition.

697-703 On the relation of English and Latin, see Introduction, pp. 74, 75 above.

716, 717 Something is missing between these lines to translate *Ioui mactatis taurum*.

719 *swan* translates *cignum* of the original of *Al. B* as in Hilka (p. 195, l. 6) and *S* (fol. 138A; also *J¹ Z.*, p. 229, l. 18). It is of interest to note that *M¹* with *agnum* agrees with *J³* (Strassburg, 1490, Skeat, *ed. cit.*).

757 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 75, § g, above.

772-779 A confused and difficult passage. 772 MS. *gon to do wreche* 'go to execute vengeance'; but is *gon* (as 197 above) perhaps for *goie* (vb.) 'rejoice in.' 774 offers further difficulty. Skeat (note *ad loc.*) for rhyme and reason proposed: *For þei schulle <wreche> in þis worde wirche for sinne* 'for they [sc. the gods] shall work vengeance here on earth for sin'; but for lines with only one alliterating word in each half-line, see Introduction, pp. 96, 97. Skeat's suggestion is plausible, but I prefer to take *ludus* as the antecedent of *þei* and read 'because they shall apply themselves to sin while on earth.'

775, 776 The inversion of these lines makes an easier reading: 'your ancestors gave warning of that torment: when men are buried who did wrongfully, how vengeance should be wrought for sinful deeds and pain after death; your doctors said that men should suffer on earth for sins. . .' But I am by no means certain that this is right.

783-786 784, 785 is the poet's elaboration of *wers wirchen* (783) and between this and 786 there is nothing to translate *quanta simulacra . . . penas patimini*; perhaps lacking in the original of *Al. B* (by a kind of haplography from *quanta . . . quanto*?).

789, 790 There is nothing to translate *Dicunt enim <Tantalum> . . . satiantur*; perhaps lacking in the original of *Al. B*.

790 MS. *glotounius* (-tonnius?): though cited by *NED*, s. v. *gluttonous*, adj., this anomolous form with -ius is almost certainly false, arising from a scribal misinterpretation of a series of minims; *glottonnuus* was probably the author's spelling.

793 refers to 536 above.

794 MS. *Foure hedus*: obvious error, probably from a misreading at some point in the tradition (English or Latin) of .iii. for .iiii. That the original used roman numerals is suggested by .ij. (524) and .viij. (157).

818-821 Imitated from 187-190.

846 ff. refer to 293-296 above.

852, 853 Adapted from 846-849. Note that *Al. B* does not translate *aliunde nauigationem nauigii habere non potestis*.

858 ff. refer to 304 ff. above.

868-871 To be taken after 901? In 901 the discussion (elaborated by the poet) centers on mercy and not, as here, on physical enterprise.

873 MS. *of vs silf*: surely for *as ussilf*. For confusion of *f* and *f(s)*, cf. 129, footnote, p. 175 above.

881-883 There is nothing here to translate *sed si uixerit . . . unde aliquid faciat*. Note that much of this is lacking in *M*¹ (corrupt here); perhaps omitted altogether in original of *Al. B*.

882 ff. refer to 402 ff. above.

898 ff. refer to 453 ff. above.

900, 901 refer to 381 ff. above.

901, 902 868-871 should perhaps be taken here.

912 refers to 846 above.

939, 940 'by the time he is so advanced in years that he is strong, resolute, and settled.' No need of emending with Skeat *pat* to *pan*.

953 MS. *pat we frut hauen*; but a result clause is out of place and we want *pat frut* as the object of 'have,' parallel to *al pat growus* (954).

955 refers to 297, 298 above.

956 refers to 301, 302 above.

989 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 76, § c, above.

992 ff. refer to 840-842 above.

994, 995 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 75, § h, above.

1021, 1022 Between *exinde satiantur* and *Nos autem ueram . . . M*¹ and *Al. B* agree in omitting *sed magis de hac causa uitiantur* of Hilka (p. 198, l. 34) and *S* (fol. 139D; also *J*¹, *Z*, p. 234, ll. 23, 24). 1022 On the relation of English to Latin, see Introduction, p. 76, § d, above.

1030, 1031 If taken after 1033, the English follows the Latin exactly.

1043 As Skeat (note *ad loc.*) points out, the poet has put the medical interpretation on *curet*.

1050 On *aldurfader* = 'forefather' and perhaps a contamination of *aldfader* and *allerfader*, see C. D. Campbell, *The Names of Relationship in English* (Strassburg diss., 1905), p. 18.

1057, 1058 *et nobis qui recta uidemus uultis adducere tenebras cecitatis uestre* is not translated.

1063 MS. *wip a smart poudur: foudur*, translating Lat. *fulmine*, is, of course, the word.

1064, 1065 Either between these or the next two lines, something to translate *propter uim fulminis uel Enceladus* has dropped out. Only Salmoneus is mentioned, yet 1067 describes Enceladus' sacrilege and in 1062 both (*boþe*) are referred to.

1080, 1081 Imitated from 84-90; cf. 107-110.

1128 Unless a negative is supplied, 1128 contradicts 1129.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

MS. *Greaves 60*, fol. 16v

Alexander A: a-text

The version of the opening lines of *Al. A* here printed for the first time (designated for convenience of reference the *a-text*) has already been noticed (p. 4 above). It will suffice merely to call attention again to the fragmentary character of the copy, which suggests that this may have been a trial draft. By comparison with the main text one is able to look somewhat into the scribe's method: e. g., in 2*a* he retains *thenken* with *e* vs. his modernized *thinken* in 2; yet in 36*a*, 39*a* he writes *shee*, while in 36, 39 he retains the older W.Ml. *hue*. Again in 20*a* he used *their* as his main word and kept a record of the original *hur* in a gloss, but in 20 he chose not to modernize at all. It is difficult to detect any principle in such random procedure; probably none exists.

Yee, <i>þat</i> lengen in lond, lordes, and ooper,	
Beurnes, or bacheleres, <i>þat</i> boldely thenken	
Outher in werre, or in wo wightly too dwell:	
For too lachen hem lose in her lifetime:	
Or eles <i>þat</i> will lern too doo deedes of armes:	5
Bothe feeldes, <i>and</i> frithes fayre all aboute:	15
Trie towres, <i>and</i> townes, term of his life:	
And kept þe crowne, as à King shoold.	
Then þis cumlich Kyng, <i>and</i> keene in his time,	
Had wedde à wyfe, as hym well thought:	
And long hadden hur lyfe in lond toogeder.	20
Twoo seemelich sonnes soone they hadden.	
De alder hyht Alisaunder, as I ryght tell:	
And sir Philip forsothe his frobroder hyght.	23
His alder aldust sonne, <i>þat</i> Alisaunder hyght,	27

2 MS. *thynken*] *e* above y 3 MS. *Wheper*] Outher *suprascript*; Whether crossed out. 5 MS. *Oreles* 20 MS. *their*] *hur* *suprascript* 22 MS. *alder*] *e* above a.

lengen (1), *Beurnes* (2), *Trie* (16), *and* *yeeme* (43) are underlined.

Tho was crouned King, too keepe þe reigne.
Well hee ladde þe londe, while hee life had:
But his term was tint, or it time were. 30
And all þe cause of þis case I con soone tell:
How hee was doolefully dedde, *and* doone of his life.
Dat made his modre þe Queene, *þat* moste was adouted:
Eurydice hue hyht, unkynde of her deedes.
Hue loued so lechery, *and* lustes of synne: 35
That her childer shee chāse unchastely to haue.
For Alisaunder, her sonne, assent so ne wolde
To fulfill so fowle hur fleshly synnes:
Shee let kill þis Kyng, *with* care at his hert,
In þe formest yere, *þat* hee first reigned. 40
And dus left hee his life: *our* Lorde haue his sōle.
For à feller in fyght founde men seelde:
While hym lasted his life, londes to yeeme.

APPENDIX II

The Compilation of St Albans

from MS. *Corpus Christi College* 219, fol. 1r-6r

The portion of the so-called *Compilation of St Albans* here printed is offered in support of the statement made above (pp. 18 ff.) that the historical parts of *Al. A* are based on Orosius, not on Justin or on the *Compilation* which makes such extensive use of this popular historiographer.

The *Compilation of St Albans*, discussed at some length by Paul Meyer,¹ exists in at least two manuscripts, *Corpus Christi College MS.* 219 of the twelfth century² and *Gonville and Caius College MS.* 154 of the twelfth-thirteenth century,³ both unpublished. The text of both manuscripts is almost identical, though further investigation is necessary before it will be possible to say whether the later of the two manuscripts is copied directly from the earlier. For present purposes it has seemed sufficient to print the text of *MS. Corpus Christi College* 219, recording the variants from *Gonville and Caius* 154 (G. & C.) in the footnotes. I have also noted significant departures from the sources, here mainly Justin and Orosius.

In the margin I have indicated, where known to me, the sources, marking the end of each excerpt by a vertical bar. I hope to find time in the near future to prepare an edition of this interesting text and to discuss its relation to the entry from John Bale's catalogue printed p. 3 above.

Incipit hystoria regis Macedonum Philippi filique eius Alexandri Magni, excepta de libris Pompeii Trogi, Orosii, Iosophi,⁴ Ieronimi, Solini, Augustini, Bede, et Ysodori.⁵

Macedonia ante a nomine Emathionis uel Emathii regis, cuius prima uirtutis experimenta in illis locis extitere Emathia cognominata; dein⁶ a Macedone qui Deucalionis maternus nepos fuit ibidem

Just. vii, 1, 1

Isid. xiv, 4, 13

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 52 ff.; cf. further *Speculum* I (1926), 225 ff.

² M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in Corpus Christi College* (Cambridge, 1912), I, 517.

³ *Idem*, *Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in Gonville and Caius College* (Cambridge, 1907), I, 179.

⁴ G. & C.: Iosephi.

⁵ G. & C.: Ysidori

⁶ G. & C.: deinde.

Cf. Isid. xiii,
11, 3 and Oros.
i, 2, 57

regnante, Macedonia est dicta. | Hęc ab Oriente habet Egeum mare; a Borea qui et Aquilo Traciam; ab Euro qui Subsolani a leua parte collateralis est Euboeam¹ et Macedonicum sinum; a meridie Achaïam; a faunio qui et Zephirus Montes Acroceraunię in angustiiis Adriatici sinus, qui montes sunt contra Apuliam atque Brundisium; ab occasu Dalmaciam;² a circio qui septemtrionali uento a dextra parte collateralis est Dardaniam; a septemtrione Mesiam. |

Just. vii, 1, 2

Huius sicuti incrementa modica, ita termini perangusti fuere. Populus Pelagis (*sic*), regio regis Boetica dicebatur. Sed postea uirtute regum et gentis industria substratis primo finitimis, mox populis nationibusque, imperium usque extremos Orientis terminos prolatum. In regione Peonia, quę nunc portio est Macedonię, regnasse fertur Telegonus, pater Asterorei, cuius Troiano bello inter clarissimos uindices urbis nomen accipimus. Ex alio latere in Europa regnum Europus nomine tenuit. Sed et Ceranus cum magna multitudine Grecorum sedes in Macedonia responso oraculi iussus querere, cum Emathiam uenisset, urbem Edessam non sentientibus (*fol. 1 v*) oppidanis propter imbrium et nebulę magnitudinem gregem caprarum imbrem fugentium secutus occupauit; reuocatusque in memoriam oraculi, quo iussus e<r>at³ ducibus capris imperium querere, regni sedem statuit; religioseque postea obseruauit, quocumque agmen moueret, ante signa easdem capras habere, ceptorum duces habiturus, quas regni habuerat auctores. Urbem Edessam ob memoriam rei Egetis (uel Egeam),⁴ populum Egeadas uocauit. Pulso deinde Midanamis qui quintam portionem Macedonię tenuit aliisque regibus pulsus in locum omnium solus successit primusque adunatis gentibus uariorum populorum ueluti unum corpus Macedonię fecit, crescentique regno ualida incrementorum fundamenta constituit.

Post hunc Perdica regnauit, cuius et uita illustris et mortis postrema, uelut ex oraculo, precepta memorabilia fuere. Siquidem senex moriens Argeonlion monstraui locum, quo condi uellet; ibique non sua tantum,⁵ sed et succedentium sibi in regnum ossa poni iussit, prefatus, quoad ibi conditę posteriorum reliquię forent, regnum familię mansurum; creduntque hac superstitione extinctam in Alexandro stirpem, quia locum sepulture mutauerit. Argeus moderate et cum amore popularium administrato regno successorem

¹ G. & C.: Eboeam.

² G. & C.: Dalmatiam.

³ G. & C.: erat.

⁴ uel Egeam *written above* Egetis; *this gloss is lacking in G. & C.*

⁵ G. & C.: non tamen sua.

filium Philippum reliquit,¹ qui immatura morte raptus Europum, paruulum admodum, instituit heredem. Sed Macedonibus assidua certamina cum Tracibus et Illiriis fuere, quorum armis ueluti cotidiano exercitio indurati gloria bellice laudis finitimos terrebant. Igitur Illirii infantiam regis pupilli contempnentes bello Macedones aggrediuntur. Qui prelio pulsi rege suo in cunis prolato et pone aciem posito acrius certamen repetiuere, tanquam ideo uicti antea fuissent, quod bellantibus sibi regis sui auspicia defuissent, (*fol. 2r*) futuri uel propterea uictores quod ex superstitione animum uincendi ceperant; simul et miseratio eos infantis tenebat, quem, si uicti forent, captiuum de rege facturi uidebantur. Conserto itaque prelio magna cede Illirios fudere, ostenderuntque hostibus suis priori bello regem Macedonibus, non uirtutem defuisse. Huic Amintas succedit et propria uirtute et Alexandri filii egregia² indole insigniter³ clarus; cui Alexandro tanta omnium <uirtutum> natura <e> ornamenta extitere, ut etiam in Olimpico certamine uariorum generum contenderit (*sic*).

Decedens Amintas Alexandrum filium heredem reliquit.⁴ |

Per ordinem deinde successionis regnum Macedonię ad Amintam, Just. vii, 4, 3 Menelai fratris eius filium, peruenit. Hic quoque insignis industria et omnibus imperatoriis⁵ uirtutibus instructus fuit, qui ex Euridice tres filios sustulit, Alexandrum, Perdicam, et Philippum, Alexandri Magni Macedonis patrem, et filiam Eurionem, ex Cignea autem Archelaum, Arideum, Menelaum. Cum Illiriis deinde et cum Olinthiis grauia bella gessit. Insidiis etiam Euridicis uxoris, quę nuptias generi pacta occidendum uirum regnumque adultero tradendum suscepserat, occupatus fuisset, ni filia pelicatum⁶ matris et sceleris consilia prodidisset. Functus itaque tot periculis senex decessit, regno maximo ex filiis Alexandro tradito.

Igitur Alexander inter prima initia regni bellum ab Illiriis pacta Just. vii, 5 mercede et Philippo fratre dato obside redemit. Interiecto quoque tempore per eundem obsidem⁷ cum Thebanis gratiam pacis reconciliat. Quę res Philippo maxima incrementa egregię indolis dedit, siquidem Thebis triennio obses habitus prima puericię rudimenta in urbe seruueritatis antiquę et in domo Epaminundę, summi et philosophi et imperatoris,⁸ deposuit.

¹ G. & C.: reliquid.

² G. & C.: egregia.

³ G. & C.: insignitus.

⁴ G. & C.: reliquid.

⁵ G. & C.: imperatoris.

⁶ G. & C.: pelucatum.

⁷ G. & C.: opsidem.

⁸ G. & C.: impertoris.

Nec multo post Alexander insidiis Euridicis matris appetitus occumbit, (*fol. 2v*) cui Amintas in scelere deprehensę propter communes liberos, ignarus eisdem quandoque exitiosam fore, pepererat. Frater quoque eius Perdica pari insidiarum fraude decipitur. Indignum prorsus libidinis causa liberos a matre uita priuatos, quam scelerum suorum ¹ suppliciis liberorum contemplatio uendicauerat (*sic*). Perdice hoc indignior cedes uidebatur, quod ei apud matrem misericordiam nec paruulus quidem filius conciliauerat. Itaque Philippus diu non regem, sed tutorem pupilli egit. At ubi grauiora bella imminebant rerumque ² auxilium in exceptione ³ infantis erat, compulsus a populo regnum suscepit.

Just. vii, 6

Ut est ingressus imperium, magna de illo spes omnibus fuit et propter ipsius ingenium, quod magnum spondebat uirum, et propter uetera Macedonię fata, que cecinerant, uno ex Aminte filiis regnante florentissimum fore Macedonię statum, cui <us> spei scelus matris hunc residuum fecerat. Principio rerum ⁴ cum hinc cedes fratrum indigne peremptorum, inde hostium multitudo, hinc insidiarum metus, inde inopia continui <s> belli <s> [et] exhausti regni immaturam ętatem tyronis urgerent: bella que uelut conspiratione quadam ad opprimendam Macedoniam ⁵ multarum gentium ex diuersis locis hoc ⁶ tempore confluebant, quoniam omnibus par esse non poterat, dispensanda ratus alia interposita pactione componit, alia redemit (*sic*) facillimis quibusque aggressis, quorum uictoria et militum ⁷ trepidos animos firmaret et contemptum ⁸ sibi hostium demeret.

Primum illi cum Atheniensibus certamen fuit; quibus per insidias uictis metu belli grauioris, cum interficere omnes posset, incolumes sine precio dimisit. Post hos bello in Illirios translato multa milia hostium cędit, urbem nobilissimam Larisseam capit. Hinc Thessaliam non predę cupiditate, sed quod exerci- (*fol. 3r*) -tui suo robur Thessalorum equitum adiungere gestiebat, nichil minus quam bellum metuentem inprouis expugnat, unumque corpus equitum pedestriumque copiarum inuicti exercitus fecit. Quibus rebus feliciter prouenientibus, Olimpiadem Neoptolomi, regis Molossorum, filiam, uxorem ducit, conciliante nuptias fratre patrueli, auctore ⁹ uirginis,

¹ *G. & C.*: suorum librorum suppliciis.

² *Justin*: serumque.

⁴ *Justin*: regni.

⁶ *Justin*: uno.

⁸ *G. & C.*: conceptum.

³ *Justin*: expectatione.

⁵ *G. & C.*: Macedoneam.

⁷ *G. & C.*: milium.

⁹ *Justin*: tutore.

Sarraba, rege Molossorum, qui sororem Olimpiadis Troadam in matrimonio habebat; quę causa illi exiti <i> ¹ malorumque omnium fuit. Nam dum regni incrementa affinitate Philippi se adquisiturum sperat, proprio regno ab eodem priuatus in exilio consenuit.² |

De hoc ita Orosius: Igitur uictis Atheniensibus subiectisque Thessalis Olimpiadem Aruchę, regis Molossorum, sororem duxit uxorem. Qui cum per hoc, quod societatem Macedonum affinitate regis paciscebatur,³ imperium ⁴ suum se dilataturum putaret, per hoc deceptus amisit priuatusque in exilio consenuit. |

At uero Philippus ex Olimpiade filium Alexandrii nomine suscepit, anno ętatis suę .xxvii.^{mo}, regni ũ. v., ab urbe autem condita .cccc.^{mo} vi.^{to} ⁵ |

Qua nocte eum mater Olimpiadis ⁶ concepit, uisa perquietem est cum ingenti serpente uolutari, nec decepta sompno est, nam profecto maius humana mortalitate opus utero tulit; quam cum Eacidarum gens ab ultima seculorum memoria et regna patris ac mariti ac deinceps maiorum omnium illustrauerint, nullius tamen nomine quam filii clarior fuit. Prodigia magnitudinis eius ipso ortu nonnulla apparuere. Nam ea die, qua natus est, duę aquilę tota die perpetes ⁷ supra culmen domus patris eius sederunt, omen duplicis imperii, Europę Asięque, preferentes.⁸ Eadem quoque die nuncium pater eius accepit duarum uictoriarum, alterum ⁹ belli Illirici, alterum ⁹ certaminis Olimpiaci, in quod quadrigarum currus miserat, quod omnem uniuersarum terrarum uictoriam infanti cedebat.¹⁰ |

Nox ętiam hac ferme tempestate usque ad plurimam dię partem tendi uisa est et saxeā grando de nubibus (*fol. 3v*) descendens ueris terram lapidibus uerberauit, qua Alexander ille Magnus, uere preliorum gurgis atque atrocissimus¹¹ totius Orientis turbo, natus est. |

Puer acerrimis litterarum studiis eruditus fuit. |

Quibus annis pedagogo Leonide usus eiusdem post modum uitiiis et in moribus et in incessu¹² etiam rex potentissimus atque orbis dominus numquam ¹³ carere potuit. |

¹ *Codd.* exitium.

² Nam dum . . . consenuit: *written in margin, and perhaps by the hand of MS. G. & C., where this clause is incorporated in the text (fol. 3r).*

³ *G. & C.:* pasiscebatur.

⁴ *G. & C.:* impium.

⁵ *G. & C.:* .v.^{to}.

⁶ *G. & C.:* Olimpias.

⁷ *Codd.* perpedes.

⁸ *G. & C.:* preferantes.

⁹ *Codd.* altera.

¹⁰ *Justin:* quod omen uniuersarum terrarum uictoriam infanti portendebat.

¹¹ *G. & C.:* atrocissimus.

¹² *G. & C.:* incensu.

¹³ *G. & C.:* nunquam.

Oros. iii, 12, 8

Unde?

Just. xii, 16,
2-6

Cf. Oros. iii, 7,
4, 5

Just. xii, 16, 7
Hier. *Epist. ad*
Laetam

- Just. xii, 16, 8 Exacta puericia per quinquennium sub Aristotile doctore, inclito omnium philosophorum, creuit. |
- Just. vii, 6, 13-16 Verum ut ad id redeamus unde digressi summus: | Philippus iam non contentus summouere bella ultro etiam quietos lacessit. Cum Mathonam urbem oppugnaret, in pretereuntem de muris sagitta iacta dextrum oculum regis effodit. Quo uulnere non segnior¹ in bellum nec iracundior aduersus hostes factus est, adeo ut interiectis diebus pacem deprecantibus dederit, nec moderatus tantum,² uerum etiam mitis aduersus uictos fuerit. |
- Oros. iii, 12, 10 Exin Greciam prope totam consiliis preuentam uiribus domuit. |
- Just. viii, 1, 1-3 Grecię quippe ciuitates, dum imperare singulę cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt. Quippe in mutuam exitium sine modo ruentes omnibus perire, quod si <n>gulę³ amitterent,⁴ non nisi oppressę senserunt; siquidem Philippus, rex Macedonię, uelut⁵ e specula quadam libertati omnium insidiatus, dum contentiones ciuitatum alit⁶ auxilium inferioribus ferendo, uictos pariter uictoresque sibi in⁷ regiam seruitutem coęgit. |
- Oros. iii, 12, 12 Huic autem ad optinendam⁸ totius Grecię dominationem immoderata Thebanorum dominatio facultatem dedit, qui uictos Lacedemonios ac Focenses, cędibus etiam rapinisque confectos, cum insuper in communi Grecię concilio tanta pecunię multa onerauissent, quantam illi soluere nullo modo possent, ad arma confugere coęgerunt. |
- Just. viii, 1, 5-14 Lacedemoniis crimini datum, quod arcem Thebanam induciarum tempore occupassent, Focensibus, quod Boetiam depopulati essent: prorsus quasi post arma (*fol. 4r*) et bellum longum legibus reliquissent. Cum iudicium arbitrio uictorum exerceretur, tanta (ut dictum est) pecunia dampnantur, quanta exsolui non possent. Igitur Focenses cum agris coniugibusque⁹ priuarentur, desperatis rebus Philomelo quodam duce uelut¹⁰ deo irascentis Apollonis phana Delphis¹¹ occupauere. Inde auro et pecunia diuites conducto mercenario milite bellum Thebanis intulerunt. Factum Focensium, iam etsi omnes execrarentur propter sacrilegium, plus tamen inuidię Thebanis, a quibus ad hanc necessitatem compulsi fuerant,

¹ G. & C.: signior.² G. & C.: tamen.³ G. & C.: singale.⁴ G. & C.: amitterans.⁵ G. & C.: uelud.⁶ G. & C.: alid.⁷ Justin: sub *for* sibi in.⁸ G. & C.: opptinendam.⁹ G. & C.: etingibusque; Justin: agris, liberis coniugibusque.¹⁰ G. & C.: uelud.¹¹ Justin: irascentes templum Apollonis Delphis.

quam ipsis intulit. Itaque auxilia his <et> ab Atheniensibus et a Lacedemoniis missa. Prima igitur congressione Philomelus Thebanos castris exuit. Sequenti prelio primus inter confertissimos dimicans cecidit et sacrilegii penas impio sanguine luit. In huius locum dux Oenemaus¹ creatur. |

Porro autem Thebani et Thessali, omisso dilectu ciuium Philippum Macedonię regem, quem hostem prius repellere laborabant, ultro sibi ducem expetiuerunt. |

Igitur Philippus, quasi sacrilegii, non Thebanorum ultor esset, omnes milites coronas² laureas sumere iubet, atque ita ueluti deo duce prelium pergit. Focenses insignibus dei conspectis concientia dilectorum territi³ abiectis armis fugam capessunt, penasque uiolatę religionis sanguine et cędibus suis pendunt. Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo glorię dedit; illum uindicem sacrilegii, illum ultorem religionum; quod orbis uiribus expiare debuit, solum qui piacula exigeret extitisse. Dignum itaque creditum est quia diis proximus habeatur, per quem deorum maiestas uindicata sit. Sed audito Athenienses belli euentu, ne in Greciam Philippus transiret, angustias Termopilarum pari ratione sicuti antea aduenantibus Persis ocupauere, sed nequaquam simili aut uirtute aut causa: siquidem tunc (*fol. 4v*) pro libertate Grecię, nunc pro sacrilegio publico, tunc a rapina hostium templa uindicaturi, nunc aduersus uindices templorum raptores defensuri. |

Igitur Philippus ubi exclusum se ab ingressu Grecię prestructis Termopilis uidet, paratum in hostes bellum uertit in socios: nam ciuitates, quarum paulo ante dux fuerat, | queque gratulatę illi sibi de uictoria fuerant | ad gratulandum ac suscipiendum patientes hostiliter inuadit, crudeliter diripuit (*sic*), omnique societatis conscientia pęnitus <abolita>⁴ coniuges liberosque omnium sub corona uendidit, templa quoque uniuersa subuertit spoliauitque, nec tamen unquam per uiginti quinque annos quasi iratis diis uictus est. Post hęc in Cappadociam transiit ibique bellum pari perfidia gessit, captos per dolos (*sic*) finitimos reges interfecit totamque Cappadociam imperio Macedonię subdidit. Inde post cedes incendia depredationesque in sociis urbibus gestas parricidia⁵ in fratres conuertit, quos patri ex nouerca genitos cum coheredes regni uereretur, interficere aggressus est. Cum autem unum ex his occi-

Oros. iii, 12, 14

Just. viii, 2, 3-10

Oros. iii, 12, 16

Unde?

Oros. iii, 12, 16-21

¹ So Oros. iii, 12, 13; *Justin*: Onomarchus.

² G. & C.: coronans.

³ G. & C.: dilectorum terrini.

⁴ Oros.; *codd.* oblita.

⁵ G. & C.: parricidia.

disset, duo in Olinthum confugerunt: quam mox Philippus hostiliter aggressus urbem antiquissimam et florentissimam, cēdibus ac sanguine repletam opibus hominibusque uacuauit et abstractos etiam fratres supplicio et neci dedit. Dein cum, excidio sociorum et parricidio fratrum elatus, cedere ¹ sibi omnia quę cogitauisset putaret, auraria loca in Thessalia et argenti metalla in Tracia inuasit ac, ne quod ius uel fas inuiolatum pretermitteret, preoccupato mari et classe dispersa piraticam quoque exercere instituit. |

Just. viii, 3, 14
Oros. iii, 12, 22
Just. viii, 3, 14-15
His ita gestis forte euenit, ut eum ² duo fratres, reges Tracię, | de regni terminis ambigentes, | non contemplatione iusticię eius, sed inuicem metuentes, ne alterius uiribus accederet, disceptationum suarum iudicem eligerent. Sed Philippus more ingenii sui ad iudicium ueluti ad bellum inopinantibus fratribus instructo exercitu superuenit | uitaque | ac regno utrumque (*fol. 5r*) non iudicis more, sed fraude latronis ac scelere ³ spoliauit.

Oros. iii, 12, 22
Just. viii, 3, 15
Just. viii, 4, 1
Oros. iii, 12, 23
Just. viii, 4, 1
Dum hęc aguntur, legati Atheniensium, | qui prius Philippi ingressum Termopilarum munitione reppullerant,⁴ ultro pacem eius expetentes, | ad eum uenerunt. Quibus auditis et ipse legatos Athenas cum pacis conditionibus misit; ibique ex commodo utrorumque pax facta. Ex ceteris quoque Grecię ciuitatibus non pacis amore, sed belli metu legationes uenere; siquidem crudescente ira Thessali Boetiique orant, ut professum se aduersus Focenses ducem Grecię exhibeat; tanto odio Focensium ardentes, ut obliti cladium suarum perire ipsi quam non perdere eos preoptarent, expertamque Philippi crudelitatem pati quam parcere hostibus suis mallent. Contra Focensium leegati ⁵ adhibitis Lacedemoniis et Atheniensibus | bellum uel auferri uel differri | deprecabantur, cuius ab eo dilationem ter iam emerant. |

Oros. iii, 12, 25
Just. viii, 4, 6
Just. viii, 4, 10
Philippus uenditatione glorię suę tantarum urbium fastidium agitat atque utros potius dignetur estimat. Secreto igitur auditis utrisque legationibus | Focensibus | iure iurando adactis responsum se nemini prodituros, | pacem et ueniam se daturum sacramento confirmat, Thessalis uero affuturum se mox cum exercitu | auxiliumque laturum | spondet; | utrosque tamen uetat aut parare bellum aut metuere. Sic uariato responso securis omnibus Termopilarum angustias. | Instructis copiis securus ingreditur easque occupatus dispositis presidiis emunit. |

¹ *Oros.*: licere.

² *G. & C.*: eo.

³ *G. & C.*: accelerare.

⁴ *G. & C.*: reppellerant.

⁵ *G. & C.*: legati.

Tunc primum Focenses captos se fraude Philippi animadu-
 tentes trepidi ad arma confugiunt. Sed neque spacium erat instru-
 endi belli nec tempus ad contrahenda auxilia; et Philippus excidium
 minabatur, ni fieret deditio. Victi igitur necessitate pacta salute se
 dederunt. Sed pactio ¹ eius fidei fuit, cuius antea fuerat deprecatio
 belli uel pacis promissio.² Igitur cęduntur passim rapiunturque;
 non liberi parentibus, non coniuges maritis, non deorum (*fol. 5v*)
 simulacra templis suis relinquuntur. Unum tantum ³ miseris solat-
 ium fuit, quod, cum Philippus portione predę socios fraudasset,
 nichil rerum suarum apud inimicos uiderunt. Reuersus in regnum,
 ut pecora pastores nunc in hibernos, nunc in estiuos saltus traiciunt,
 sic ille populos et urbes, ut illi uel replenda uel derelinquenda que-
 que loca uidebantur, ad libidinem suam transfert. Miseranda ubi-
 que facies et excidio similis erat, | perpeti excidium sine irruptione,
 sine bello captiuitatem, sine crimine exilium, sine uictorie domi-
 natum. |

Just. viii, 5, 1-8

Oros. iii, 12, 30

Non quidem furor ⁴ ille hostilis nec discursus per urbem militum
 erat, non tumultus armorum, non bonorum atque hominum rapina. |
 Premit miseros inter iniuriarum stimulos superflusus pavor ipsaque
 dissimulatione dolor crescit hoc altius dimissus quo minus profiteri
 licet timendum,⁵ ne ipse lacrimę pro contumacia accipiantur. | Nunc
 sepulcra maiorum, nunc ueteres penates, nunc tecta, in quibus geniti
 erant quibusque genuerant, considerabant, miserantes ⁶ nunc
 uicem suam, quod in eandem diem uixissent. | Alios igitur populos,
 auulsos a sedibus suis, hostium finibus opponit; alios in extremis
 regni terminis statuit; quosdam emulatione uirium, ne possent quod
 posse creduntur, in supplemento ⁷ exhaustarum urbium diuidit, |
 sicque ex multis gentibus ac nationibus unum regem populumque
 constituit.

Just. viii, 5, 9

Oros. iii, 12, 31

Just. viii, 5, 12

Oros. iii, 12, 32

Just. viii, 6, 2-3

Compositis denique ordinatisque in Macedonia rebus Dardanos
 ceterosque finitimos fraude captos expugnat. Sed nec a proximis
 manus abstinet; siquidem Arriban, regem Epiri, uxori suę Olim-
 piadi artissima cognatione ⁸ iunctum, pellere regno statuit atque
 Alexandrum, priuignum eius, uxoris Olimpiadis fratrem, puerum
 honestę pulcritudinis, in Macedoniam nomine sororis accersit, omni-
 que studio sollicitatum spe ⁹ regni simulato amore ad stupri consue-

¹ G. & C.: parcio.² Justin: remissio.³ G. & C.: tamen.⁴ Justin: pavor.⁵ Oros.: timentium.⁶ G. & C.: miserandas.⁷ Codd.: supplementa.⁸ G. & C.: concognitione.⁹ Justin: in spem.

tudinem perpulit, maiora in eo obsequia habiturus siue conscientię¹ pudore siue regni beneficio. Cum igitur ad uiginti annos peruenisset, ereptum Arribę (*fol. 6r*) regnum puero admodum tradit, scelestus in utroque. Nam nec in eo ius cognationis seruauit, cui ademit regnum, et eum, cui dedit, impudicum fecit ante quam regem. |

Just. ix, 1, 1-4

In Greciam Philippus cum uenisset, sollicitatus paucarum ciuitatum direptione et ex preda modicarum urbium quantę opes uniuersarum essent animo prospiciens, bellum toti Grecię inferre statuit. In cuius emolumentum egregię pertinere ratus, si Bizantium, nobilem et maritimam urbem, receptaculum terra marique copiis suis futurum,² in potestatem redigisset,³ eandem claudentem sibi portas obsidione⁴ cinxit. Hęc autem urbs⁵ primo a Pausania, rege Spartanorum⁶ condita, et per septem annos possessa fuit; dein uariante uictoria nunc Lacedemoniorum, nunc Atheniensium iuris habita est, quę incerta possessio effecit, ut nemine quasi suam auxiliis iuuante libertatem constantius tueretur. |

Oros. iii, 13, 2, 3

Postea uero a Constantino Xristiano⁷ principe in maius aucta et Constantinopolis dicta, gloriosissimi nunc imperii sedes et totius caput⁸ Orientis est. Philippus igitur post longam et irritam obsidionem, ut pecuniam quam obsidendo exhauserat⁹ predando repararet, piraticam aggressus est. Captas itaque centum octaginta¹⁰ naues mercibus confertas distraxit et anhelanti¹¹ inopię parua recreatione subuenit. |

¹ G. & C.: *concerie* (?)

² G. & C.: *redigisset*.

³ Cod. *urbis*; G. & C.: *urbs*.

⁷ G. & C.: *Cristiano*.

⁹ G. & C.: *exauserat*.

¹¹ G. & C.: *annelanti*.

² Codd.: *futuram*.

⁴ G. & C.: *obsidionem*.

⁶ G. & C.: *Sparchanorum*.

⁸ G. & C.: *capud*.

¹⁰ Oros.: *septaginta*.

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The following index is intended primarily to furnish ready reference to the texts dealt with in the account of the Pseudo-Callisthenes tradition (pp. 22-62 above) and at the same time to counteract certain infelicities of arrangement induced in part by the exigencies of extreme compression, in part by certain defects in the original plan. I have furthermore included references to all ancient and mediaeval authors dealing with, or making use of, the history of Alexander, wherever I have had occasion to mention them. Where noted, MSS will be found under the town or library in which they are deposited. For an index of Alexander texts arranged by language the reader is reminded of H. E. Müller's bibliography cited p. 16, note 3, above.

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